STUDIES IN CHAUCER'S HOUS OF FAME

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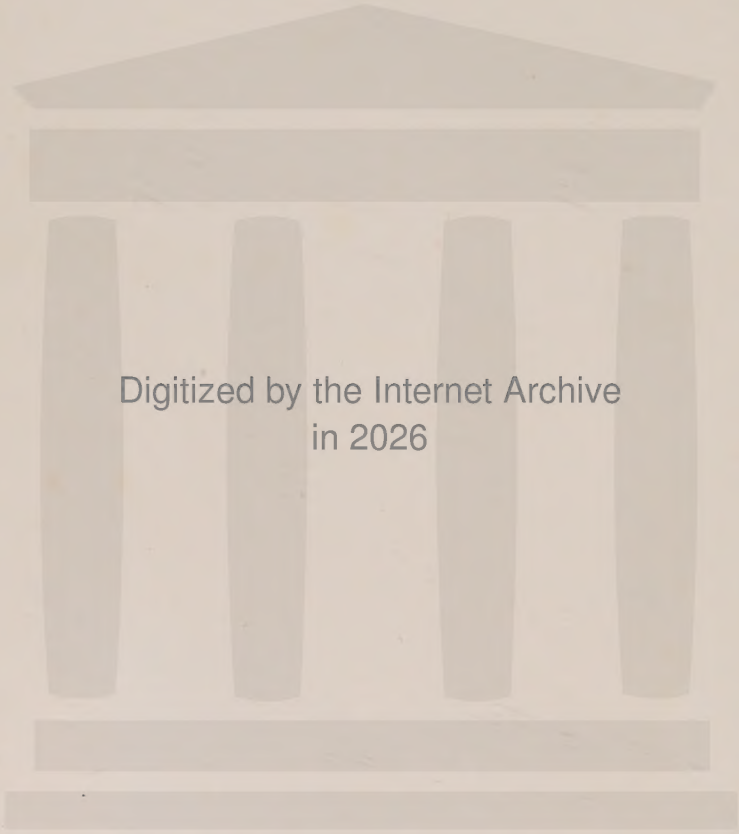
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Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame

BY

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PREFACE.

THESE studies in Chaucer's *Hous of Fame* represent virtually a dissertation submitted, in 1906, to the Division of Modern Languages in Harvard University, in partial requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The uncertainty in many respects of the critical theories about the sources and meaning of this poem seemed to justify further study. The direction which the study first assumed was a detailed examination of the fully developed argument of Dr. Rambeau in favour of a close connection between the *Hous of Fame* and Dante's *Divina Commedia*. The results of this consideration were in their effect both negative and positive. They confirmed the conviction which some scholars had already felt that the poem is not an imitation of the *Divine Comedy;* they prepared the way, furthermore, for a new theory as to the provenience of the *Hous of Fame*. This theory, as presented in Part I., considers the poem in connection with Chaucer's other dream-poems, and finds that the primary impulse for the form and subject-matter comes from the very source to which must be ascribed the *Duchesse*, the *Parlement of Foules*, and the *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women*—the Old French love-vision literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The *Hous of Fame* is a love-poem in form and spirit closely related to such poems as Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours* and Nicole de Margival's *La Panthère d'Amours*. The studies so far indicated are included in Parts I. and II.

Proceeding primarily on the basis of this new theory as to the general nature of the poem, I attempt in Part III. to explain the essential features of its contents. The compositeness of this dream-poem in respect to material is very apparent—so apparent, indeed, that I have often hesitated to speak dogmatically about the sources of any element where there might justly exist a difference of opinion. Yet, at the close of this section of my studies, the reader will feel, I hope, that the fundamental problems of the sources of this poem have been satisfactorily and finally settled.

A confirmation of the previous discussion occurs in Part IV., where in keeping with the theory advanced in Part I., and with its partial justification in Part III., I present an explanation of the "inner meaning" of the *Hous of Fame.*

The obligations which I now wish to acknowledge are many. Of the books which have been of most service to me, I must make special reference to Professor Neilson's *Court of Love.* It has made my work easier in more ways than I have been able to indicate in the foot-notes. To my friends and instructors, I am grateful. I have profited much at times from the stylistic criticism of my friend Dr. H. de W. Fuller. Professor J. L. Lowes, with his usual friendly kindliness, has read the whole essay in proof, and has given me much helpful criticism, especially in that part of the work which deals with the *Prologue to the Legend.* To Professor F. N. Robinson I am indebted for a patient hearing of unformed discussions and for various suggestions. I take especial pleasure in acknowledging the aid which I have received from my friend and teacher, Professor Henry Schofield. My conferences with him have invariably been stimulative toward a clearer appreciation of the essential value of the subject under investigation. I have finally to express, as best I may, the debt I owe to Professor Kittredge, under whose direction these studies have been carried on. I have benefited inestimably, in common with other students of Professor Kittredge, from his surpassing knowledge of mediæval literature and life, from his acute perception and logical analysis of literary relations, and from the unselfishness with which he imparts his learning and his illuminative mental processes.

W. O. S.

Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.,
July 15, 1907.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

THE RELATION OF CHAUCER'S DREAM-POEMS TO OLD FRENCH LOVE-VISION LITERATURE.

PAGE

1. Summaries of Old French love-visions ... ... 1—6
2. The Book of the Duchesse ... ... 6—11
3. The Hous of Fame ... ... 11—20
4. The Parlement of Foules ... ... 20—25
5. The Prologue to the Legend ... ... 25—41
6. Conclusion ... ... 41—43

PART II.

THE *HOUS OF FAME* AND DANTE'S *DIVINA COMMEDIA* ... ... 44—72

PART III.

Chapter I. Chaucer's Reflections about Dreams ... 73—77

Chapter II. The Invocations ... ... 77—79

Chapter III. The Temple of Venus ... ... 80—86

Chapter IV.

1. The Eagle ... ... 86—95
2. The Journey through the Air ... ... 95—103

PAGE

Chapter V. The Characteristic Elements of the Third Book ... ... 103—155

1. The Goddess of Fame and her Home ... 103—138

2. The House of Tidings ... ... 138—155

PART IV.

THE MEANING OF THE *HOUS OF FAME* ... 156—172

APPENDIX.

The "revolving house" connected with the "door that slams" and the "clashing rocks" ... 173—181

INDEX 183

CHAUCER'S HOUS OF FAME

PART I

The present study is an effort to determine what relation may exist between Chaucer's dream-poems—*The Book of the Duchesse*, *The Hous of Fame*, *The Parlement of Foules*, and the *Prologue* to the *Legend*—and the Old French love-vision literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Various explanations have heretofore been offered for each of Chaucer's visions. In some cases, critics have suggested the course of investigation which will be followed here. They have recognized, for instance, that the *Book of the Duchesse* is a vision[1] which bears a general resemblance to Old French visions, such as *Le Roman de la Rose* and Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours*. But no one, so far as I know, has attempted to assemble these O.F. poems, to define their essential characteristics, and then to see what points of contact there might be between these visions and Chaucer's four dream-poems.

The general characteristics of these O.F. love-visions will appear from the following summaries of a few representative poems.

Li Fablel dou Dieu d'Amours.[2]

[1] The word vision or dream-poem is used throughout these studies to designate a poem in which the author makes use of the device of a vision or dream to present his subject-matter. In every such poem the whole "story" depends on this literary device. Of visions or dreams embedded in literary works I make no account. For this matter in several of our early literatures I may refer to—

W. Baake.—*Die Verwendung des Traummotivs in der englischen Dichtung bis auf Chaucer*, Halle, 1906.

W. Henzen.—*Ueber die Träume in der altnordischen Saga-Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1890.

Emil Benezé.—*Das Traummotiv in der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung*, Halle, 1897.

Richard Mentz.—*Die Träume in den altfranzösischen Karls- und Artus-Epen*, in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie*, vol. lxxiii, Marburg, 1888.

[2] For the summary of this poem, as of several other visions, I am indebted to Professor W. A. Neilson's *Court of Love* (Harvard *Studies and Notes*, vol. vi). See pp. 41–42. A bibliography of these love-visions is given pp. 5 and 6.

One bright May morning, the author has a vision. He is in a fair garden where the birds are singing. The nightingale calls the other birds around him, and complains of the degeneration of Love. From this dream the lover falls into another. He sees approaching a maiden whom he recognizes as his lady. In the midst of their talk a dragon descends and carries her off, leaving him lamenting and declaring the folly of serving the god of Love. Now the god himself approaches and promises aid. He carries the lover off to his palace, Champ Fleuri. The hero enters and finds the palace supported by pillars representing the months. A girl shows him the glories of the mansion and the sights of the meadow. On returning to the house, they find the god just arrived with the hero's lady. The hero awakes and finds it but a dream.

Le Roman de la Rose.[1]

At the beginning is a discourse of twenty lines on dreams.

The author's belief in dreams is strengthened by Scipio's dream of which Macrobius wrote the story.

In the amorous month of May, the author, twenty years old, is in his bed asleep one night, when he dreams his marvellous dream. Five years have passed, and now he tells his dream, which has had fulfilment. The hero in his wandering sees a spacious garden, on the walls of which are painted ten hideous figures. He knocks at the wicket. The gate is opened by Idleness, a beautiful damsel. She leads him to the owner of the garden, Mirth. Ere long he sees the god of Love approaching with his companion Beauty. Cupid follows the dreamer, who comes to the fountain in which Narcissus wept himself away. The story of Narcissus is told. In the fountain he sees, as in a mirror, a Rose-bush charged with buds. Now Cupid wounds him with a dart, and henceforth he is a vassal of Love. His great desire is to possess the particular rose-bud on which he has set his heart. At last, after many trials, he is permitted to kiss the rose.

Here ends the part of Lorris and begins the part of Jean de Meun.[2]

[1] See Neilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–55.

[2] The point of view of the author of the second part of the *Roman de la Rose* is, of course, not that of a love-poet; but he follows, though at a distance, the plan, and adopts the essential characteristics of the love-vision of Guillaume de Lorris. Hence, for my purpose, the *Roman de la Rose* as a whole may be classed as a love-vision.

Reason approaches and talks on the folly of Love and the fickleness of Fortune. A friend now advises with the hero, and discusses the miseries of the present. Here follows a tirade against marriage. At last, the lover leaves his friend. The god of Love again appears and promises assistance. When the forces of Love have sworn fealty, Nature enters her workshop. The remainder of the book is taken up with the confession of Nature. At the end Venus directs the attack on the tower where the lover's friend is confined.

Nicole de Margival.—*La Panthère d'Amours.*[1]

The poem begins with a short reflection about dreams. Then

> "On the evening of Our Lady
> Which is called the Assumption"

the author dreams that he is taken away by birds to a forest full of beasts. One of them is of great beauty. Presently the poet hears the sound of music, and beholds approaching a great company. In the midst is a man of noble figure—the god of Love. The god tells the poet his name, and says that he is omnipotent everywhere. The god of Love and the poet ride along together in search of the beast which is a symbol of the lover's lady. Now the god and the goddess of Love send three persons to accompany the poet to the mansion of Love. As the lover hasn't the boldness to do as the god suggests, he is told to go to the palace of Fortune. Here follows an account of the characteristics of the goddess Fortune, and a description of her house. When the lover arrives, Fortune is angry, and sends him to Meseür, in whose abode he remains for a long time, until happiness finally comes to him.

Jean de Condé.—*La Messe des Oisiaus et li Plais des Chanonesses et des Grises Nonains.*[2]

Lying asleep one night in May, the author dreams that he sits under a pine in a beautiful forest, and just before dawn hears the birds singing overhead. A messenger comes flying from the goddess of Love announcing her approach and calling on all the birds to prepare a welcome. A gorgeous throne is set up, and here Venus takes her seat to dispense justice and receive adoration. Many complaints are brought before Venus, but she

[1] See Neilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–72.
[2] *Dits et Contes*, vol. iii. pp. 1 fol. See Neilson, pp. 67–69.

postpones everything till she shall have dined. The service of Love precedes the feast. After the banquet, those who have suits come before the goddess. A company of canonesses in white lodge a complaint against the grey nuns for stealing their lovers. Venus gives her decision in favour of the nuns.

Guillaume de Machault.—*Dit du Vergier.*[1]

One April morning the poet is walking in a garden. A path leads him to a beautiful orchard. Lost in amorous reverie, he passes through the orchard into a meadow, where he has a vision. He seems to see six youths and six damsels, and a creature of marvellous figure. It is the god of Love. In his right hand is a dart, and in his left a fire-brand. He has two wings for flying. His power extends far and wide over all hearts, and he acts without reason. The god gives advice to the poet in regard to his own love-affairs.

Froissart.—*Paradys d'Amours.*[2]

The author prays to Morpheus, to Juno, to Oleus, that they would send to him the messenger of sleep. Juno sends Iris to Morpheus, and he sends his son Enclimpostair. As soon as the latter arrives, the poet falls asleep and dreams that he is in a wood. Two ladies appear, Plaisance and Esperance, whose master is the god of Love. They give him much information, and conduct him to the pavilion of the god of Love. From the god of Love they continue their walk, meet Bel Acueil, before whom the poet kneels and whom he begs to love him. In his joy at her favour, he awakes, and thanks the god of Sleep through whom all true lovers are comforted in dreams.

Le Joli Buisson de Jonece.[3]

On the thirtieth night of November, 1373, the poet has his dream. He sees a great light, and on the right is Dame Venus. He complains to her that his lady whom he has so long worshipped has abandoned him for another. Venus gives him advice, and says that she will conduct him to the "buisson de Jonece." Jonece meets them, Venus departs. In this bush are seven branches, corresponding to the seven planets. Jonece proceeds to tell the service of each, but the poet says that he doesn't care to hear of astronomy. Jonece now takes him into a beautiful

[1] *Oeuvres*, pp. 11 fol. See Neilson, pp. 61,62.
[2] *Oeuvres*, vol. i. pp. 1 fol.
[3] *Oeuvres*, vol. ii. pp. 1 fol.

place, where he sees among many ladies his own lady. Desir finally brings her to him.

Eustache Deschamps.—*Le Lay Amoureux.*[1]

The poet thinks of the glories of the spring season, the time for lovers to rejoice. In his bed asleep, he seems to see in a wood where he is walking a tall fellow, Disdain, who asks him where he is going. The poet replies that he has a great desire to see more of the place where the festival of Love is held. In the meadow he sees a very sovereign lord, and people who pray to God that He will send grace to them and His love to the world. About Love are many worthy ones who have served him. They speak of "vassellaige, of Troye, of Cartage." Now they give thanks to the god of Love and depart. As they pass the author, they say to their master: "Here is Eustace, who ought to be in your favour. He and Guillaume wrote about our affairs." Then they vanish and the author awakes.

The underlying nature of these Old French love-visions is clear.[2]

[1] *Oeuvres Complètes*, vol. ii. pp. 193 ff.

[2] I append here a list of Old French love-visions:—

Li Fablel dou Dieu d'Amours, ed. by A. Jubinal, Paris, 1834. Professor Neilson says that this is probably the first court of love poem with the dream-setting.

Le Roman de la Rose, ed. by F. Michel, 2 vols., Paris 1864; Guillaume de Machault, *Oeuvres*, ed. by P. Tarbe, Paris, 1849; *Dit du Vergier*, pp. 11 fol. (See the Prologue for Machault's obligations to Guillaume de Lorris.) Cf. *Le Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse*, Summary, pp. xx–xxi. (The story here does not depend on the literary device of the dream. The close connection of the poem with *love-visions* is however quite obvious. The poet *à son réveil* hears a voice singing the pains of love. He seizes his pen and writes the tender complaint. Then he goes to find the author. The latter tells him that he has worked by order of his lord who has been rejected by a lady. Together they go to find the lover. The lover confides in Machault. While they sleep Venus appears in a dream and promises protection. The vision vanishes; the lover and Machault go on a long voyage.)

Jean de Condé, *La Messe des Oisiaus*, ed. by Aug. Scheler, *Dits et Contes*, three vols., Brussels, 1866, vol. iii. pp. 1 ff.; Nicole de Margival, *La Panthère d'Amours*, ed. by H. A. Todd, Paris, 1883; Watriquet de Couvin, *Dits*, ed. by Aug. Scheler, Bruxelles, 1868; *Li Dis de la Fontaine d'Amours*, pp. 101-111; cf. *Li Mireoirs as Dames*, pp. 1 ff.; *Li Dis des .1111. Sieges*, pp. 163 ff. (According to our general analysis above, probably to be included in this category.)

Eustache Deschamps, *Le Lay Amoureux* in *Oeuvres Complètes*, 11 vols., Paris, 1878-1903, vol. ii. pp. 193 ff.; *La Clef d'Amors*, ed. by A. Doutrepont, Halle, 1890 (Bibl. Norm. V.); *Le Songe Vert*, ed. by L. Constans, Romania, vol. 33, pp. 490–539; *Le Salut d'Amour*. (See P. Meyer, *Le Salut d'Amour dans les Littératures Provençale et Française, Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 6th series, vol. iii. pp. 124 ff.) Froissart, *Oeuvres, Poésies*, ed. by Aug. Scheler, 3 vols., Brussels, 1870–2; *Paradys d'Amours*, vol. i. pp. 1 ff.; *L'Espinette Amoureuse*, vol. i. pp. 87 ff.; *Le Joli Buisson de Jonece*, vol. ii. pp. 1 ff.; *Trésor Amoureux*, vol. iii. pp. 52 ff.

1. Emphasis is laid on the dream itself: the date, place, cause, discussion.

2. The setting is usually a May-day in the woods.

3. The guide is the god or goddess of Love, or a damsel in the service of Love.

4. The poetic material is allegorical and mythological, Heathen divinities or personifications, such as Fortune, Love, Nature, and their habitations furnish the main part of the material. Flowers and animals are also used in developing the story.

5. The story is usually the experience of a hero in the service of Love.

With this general idea of the O.F. love-visions before us, we may now begin a study of Chaucer's four dream-poems. *The Duchesse* comes first in point of time.

The story is briefly as follows:—

The poet is unable to sleep. He has many a vain thought and sorrowful imagination. He doesn't know the reason for his sleeplessness, but thinks it may be the result of an eight years' sickness. Not being able to sleep, he has some one bring him a romance to read. He finds in it the tale of Seys and Alcyone. He tells the story. Then he says why he has told this story of Seys and Alcyone, and of the "goddes of slepyng." He had never heard of any gods that could make one sleep; and says that he would give a fine present to Morpheüs if he could sleep a little.

Immediately he falls asleep, and dreams a wonderful dream. It is May in the morning; he is awakened by the singing of birds. His chamber is painted. In the glazing of the windows is all the story of Troy told—

> "And alle the walles with colours fyne,
> Were peynted bothe text and glose,
> And al the Romance of the Rose."

Now he hears horns; he takes his horse and rides to the field where the Emperor Octavien is hunting. A whelp comes and fawns on him; he follows it. At last, after enjoying the woods, flowers, and animals, he comes to a man in black, very sorrowful, who says that nothing can take away his sorrows. The sufferer tells his story: he had given all his service to Love; very early he chose Love for his craft. One day he saw a company of

ladies and fell in love with one of them. Here follows a long description of his lady, of his love for her, and of her death. The hunters return; the king goes to his castle on the hill. A bell in the castle rings, and Chaucer awakes.

I will not attempt to comment on the several explanations which have been offered for this poem. A recent discussion by Mr. H. Frank Heath is in some respects the most satisfactory.[1]

"The poem," he says, "is clearly the work of a young poet, for, though it strikes a true note of pathos at the close, it is unduly long in approaching the climax, and it has no note of the characteristic humour and irony which so constantly relieve Chaucer's later work, even when the theme is a romantic one. Nor is the form marked by any originality. It is a dream-poem of the typically discursive order for which the *Roman de la Rose* was responsible throughout European literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the usual furniture and scenery of twittering birds, the hunt, and the May morning. It has indeed been claimed altogether for France by Taine, who heartily despised English literature prior to Shakspere 'as mere servile imitation.' But the *Dethe of the Duchesse*, though it has recollections in it of both the *Roman de la Rose* and the *Remede de Fortune* is not a translation or imitation of either. The incident of Seys with which it opens is taken from the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, in which the story of Alcyone's appearance to his faithful wife Ceyx is told, and Machault (possibly to Chaucer's knowledge) imitated the same passage in his *Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse*, but beyond this the matter of the English poem is original."

I have quoted at length Mr. Heath's statement, not because I

[1] Globe ed. Chaucer's Works, London, 1898, pp. xxxii, xxxiii. Cf. also what Mr. Pollard says of Chaucer's early work, Globe ed., pp. xxii, xxiii. For further critical remarks on the *Book of the Duchesse*, see E. G. Sandras, *Étude sur G. Chaucer*, Paris, 1859, pp. 89–95; ten Brink, *Studien*, 1870, pp. 3, 14; F. J. Furnivall, *Trial Forewords*, Lond. 1871, pp. 43 ff.; Max Lange, *Untersuchungen über Chaucer's Boke of the Duchesse*, Halle, 1883; ten Brink, *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur*, vol. ii., 1893, pp. 42–48; Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, 3 vols., New York, 1892, vol. ii. p. 212; W. J. Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, 5 vols., New York and London, 1895–1905, vol. i. pp. 265–8; W. W. Skeat, *Minor Poems*, second edition, London, 1896, p. lviii; Notes, pp. 237, 259, 261, 265; W. A. Neilson, *Court of Love* (Harvard *Studies and Notes*, vol. vi.), Boston, 1899, pp. 141, 2; F. J. Snell, *Fourteenth Century*, Edin. and Lond., 1899, pp. 288–290.

can accept his analysis *in toto*, but because his view offers a good starting-point for the course of interpretation which I believe must be adopted in any conclusive study of Chaucer's vision-poems.[1]

The form of *The Duchesse*, he says, is marked by no originality. "It is a dream-poem of the typically discursive order for which the *Roman de la Rose* was responsible . . ." So far Mr. Heath is right. But the term "(typically) discursive" does not define sufficiently the type of vision to which the *Roman de la Rose* belongs. The *Roman de la Rose* is essentially a love-vision, written by a love-poet in honour of Love. So are the many other Old French vision-poems which I have assembled in this study. They constitute a definite literary *genre*.[2] Now, *The*

[1] The necessity of a further study of this group of Chaucer's poems can be illustrated in no better way than by the following erroneous criticism of a well-known modern critic. W. J. Courthope, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 265–8, *Book of the Duchesse*. "Chaucer derived the suggestion from *Le Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse*. The design, as described above, is singularly barren of genuine invention. Simple as it is, the action is clumsily conducted, for the knight acquaints the reader from the first with his lady's death, thus spoiling what might have been a dramatic climax."

Parlement, pp. 268–9.—"The source of the inspiration may plainly be traced to a French original. For the foundation of Chaucer's poem is indicated by its name, and the incident to which this points is found in the fabliau, *Hueline et Eglantine*, which records how two ladies disputed which of them had the more courteous lover, one being loved by a knight, the other by a clerk. . . . But while he thus borrowed a central idea, Chaucer has still to get it into shape for his particular purpose. His first step was to frame it in the orthodox dream-setting. For this he betook himself to the head source of all such compositions, namely, the *Somnium Scipionis*."

House of Fame, p. 270.—"We see at once, from the poem itself, that the author wishes to present a moral and metaphysical view of the world in emulation of Dante; and this judgment is confirmed by the external evidence of Lydgate, who, when giving in his *Prologue* to the *Fall of Princes* an authentic list of his master's writings, refers to the *House of Fame* under the title of *Dant in English*."

[2] As indicated by this sentence, I believe that to the mind of Chaucer—and it is always from the point of view of Chaucer that I attempt to approach this Old French love-poetry—these love-poems which employ the device of a dream appear to constitute a definite literary type. The form in general and the subject-matter of his own vision-poems, if I may anticipate the results of the present study, are accordingly determined not by the tradition of the many narrative love-poems of which those in the form of a dream constitute an important group; but primarily and hence vitally by the tradition of the love-vision itself, which by Chaucer's time was the favourite form of the French love-poets. The position here assumed as to the importance of these visions as a separate group of love-poems will, I hope, be justified even in the face of the following possible objections: 1. the widespread use of the device of the dream in mediæval literature, outside the realm of the love-poets; 2. the existence of many love-poems whose structure and contents—with the exception of the device of the dream

Duchesse is likewise a vision in honour of Love written by the love-poet of whom Alceste says in the *Prologue to the Legend*—

> "Yet hath he made lewde folke delyte
> To serve you, in *preysinge of your name.*
> He made the book that hight the Hous of Fame,

—are essentially similar to the love-visions of which I have before given examples.

The first objection would probably be raised only in the case of such a poem, for instance, as Jean de Condé's *Li Dis d'Entendement*, which, though according to the analysis given above (p. 6) it is not a love-vision, is nevertheless structurally closely allied. But the absence of the love-elements which characterize so strikingly these poems which are written in honour of the capricious goddess, removes this poem from the group of love-visions, and causes it to be left in the vast body of unclassified dream-poems which offer no obstacle to a grouping of particular visions such, for example, as a classifying by themselves of visions of purgatory, hell, and heaven, or the present grouping together of visions of love.

The second objection is more serious. It suggests at once the following queries. Is the dream-form important enough to appropriate to itself, as it were, the various elements of the narrative love-poems and thereby to establish in the minds of mediæval poets a new type of poem? Or is it merely antecedent or subordinate to the pre-existing conventions of the narrative love-poems, and are the poems which make use of the device to be classed merely as mythological narrative poems with the dream-element, rather than as love-visions with mythological or allegorical elements?

An answer to these questions may be ventured partly from a study of what we may believe to have been the attitude of Chaucer—a contemporary love-poet—toward this material. There is no doubt that Chaucer thought of these poems first of all as dreams. The emphasis which he places on the dream-motive establishes definitely the fact that Chaucer is here making use of a certain literary form which he knows will appeal to his hearers or readers. He feels that the love-story (the expression is here used freely) which in each case he has to tell must be clothed in this literary device which had become sanctified to love-poets both by time and by the frequency and success of its employment. After the *Roman de la Rose* the Old French love-poet must have felt the desirability of telling his experience under cover of the dream device. By the third quarter of the fourteenth century the device itself had become so firmly attached to the conventional love-material that it was no longer felt as a subordinate but rather as a determining element of the love-poem. These dream-poems formed a distinct group in the heterogeneous mass of mediæval love-poetry. It is now that Chaucer appears. As a love-poet he knows, of course, the most famous of the French narrative love-poems—the *Roman de la Rose*—and it is a dream. He also knows the fully developed dream-poems of Froissart and Machault. And he must have been as fully aware of the narrative poems dedicated to Love which are not told in the dream form. But he saw the peculiar attractiveness of the literary form of the dream—and this it must be remembered would be for Chaucer at this time most clearly associated with love-poems—and it is in this form that he wrote his narrative love-poems. Particular details of his visions may have come from the Old French pure narrative love-material. But the influence of the literary form of the dream was so strong, and his models among the Old French visions so striking, that the determining impulse for the composition of his own visions must have come from this group of Old French narrative love-poems in the vision form, which, even if their suggested influence on Chaucer be true, deserve to be classed as a literary *genre*.

> And eke the Deeth of Blaunche the Duchesse,
> And the Parlement of Foules, as I gesse,
> And al the Love of Palamoun and Arcite
> Of Thebes, thogh the storye ys knowen lyte
> And many an ympne for your halydayes,
> That highten balades, roundels, virelayes."[1]

The form of Chaucer's vision, the setting, the device for heightening the interest in the dream and for developing the theme are determined by the literary *genre* of the love-vision. The complaint of sleeplessness, the suggested explanation, the device of reading a book, the promise of a reward to Morpheus and Juno if the poet can be made to sleep, the reference to other dreams, the May morning scenery, the motive of the guide, are with slight variations all characteristic elements of the Old French love-visions.

For the subject-matter of the vision Chaucer is indebted primarily to these dream-poems on the subject of Love. I have said before that the device of reading a book is due to the love-visions. Chaucer uses it to induce sleep; Froissart in his *L'Espinette Amoureuse* to develop his love-story. The book itself, or rather the special story which Chaucer selects, that of Seys and Alcyone, seems to have come partly from a love-poem—the *Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse*. It is not at all strange that Chaucer, as ten Brink illustrates by one detail,[2] consulted Ovid also for this love-story. Given the device of reading a book, an original poet, such as Chaucer with all his indebtedness to previous writers was, would be at liberty to adapt it to his own purpose, to take the specific story, or the particular treatment of the story, no matter where he found it, which was for the moment the aptest or the freshest in his mind. This is the very thing that Chaucer does, as we shall see later, in another of his vision-poems.[3]

This story of Seys and Alcyone is a prelude to the actual dream. The dream-form with its setting we know to have been inspired by the love-vision *genre*. The theme of the dream is the grief of the man in black for the death of the lady whom he loved best.[4] It is absolutely certain that Chaucer is here

[1] Ll. 415–423.
[2] *Studien*, p. 10.
[3] *Parlement of Foules*. See pp. 20 ff. of these studies.
[4] With this theme should be compared the main idea of Froissart's *Le Dit dou Bleu Chevalier*, Oeuvres, I, 348 ff.

writing a complimentary poem to John of Gaunt, whose wife, Blanche, has lately died. The actual recital, however, in *The Duchesse* is dependent for its fundamental characteristics upon the conventional narratives of the love-vision *genre* which describe the experience of a lover. The strong hold which at this time this kind of writing had on the poet is illustrated most clearly by this poem of *The Duchesse*. The feeling of Chaucer which actuated the poem was, I believe, of a twofold nature. As a court-poet in the favour of John of Gaunt he might naturally be expected to record in verse the grief of his patron; as a man who had been closely associated with the Duchess, he would feel deeply the death of this gracious and accomplished lady. The most fitting literary expression which Chaucer could give to this feeling was a dream-poem, in which in terms of the conventional experiences of a lover, he not only bears witness to his relations with the sufferer, and his own grief at the latter's loss, bu' also celebrates in a manner most impressive to the court-circle and certainly very acceptable to John of Gaunt himself, the devotion and love which existed between the Duke and the Duchess. For even in this conventional vision-poem with its imaginary and, to some extent, artificial story, Chaucer has contrived to create an impression of reality of experience which to his contemporaries was as vital as to us moderns is Milton's lament for Charles Diodati.

The independence and originality of Chaucer's portrayal, I hope, do not need to be further emphasized. He is, I believe, directly under the influence of Old French love-visions; and his general dependence upon this group of poems is unmistakable. We have found that the main structural elements and the sub-matter of the *Duchesse* go back to this literary *genre*. What Chaucer has done, however, is to transform various bits of this conventional love-vision material by his own poetic talent and marked imaginative power, and thus to construct on the foundation of a common inheritance an original work of art.

Chaucer's next venture in the vision-form we may believe to have been the *Hous of Fame*.[1] The poem begins with a short

[1] The most plausible date for the composition of this poem is that suggested by Professor J. L. Lowes in *The Prologue to the Legend of Good Women*, Publications Mod. Lang. Assn., vol. xx. No. 4, 1905, p. 862. He places the *Hous of Fame* about 1379, thus making it precede the *Parlement* by about three years.

discourse on dreams. Chaucer doesn't know the cause of dreams and will make mention of no opinion; but hopes that God will turn to good this wonderful dream which he dreamt on the tenth day of December. An invocation to the god of Sleep follows and then the dream begins. He dreams that he is in the glass temple of Venus, on the walls of which is painted the story of Troy. Chaucer tells the story at length. Coming out of the temple, he sees nothing but a large field, and high up in the air an eagle, "which was of gold." The second book opens with a reminder of the wonders of the dream, and an invocation to Venus. The eagle descends and snatches the poet up into the air. Then in man's voice he tells Chaucer who he is. He is the messenger of Jupiter, sent to the poet to reward him for his services to Cupid and Venus, by taking him to the House of Fame, where he shall hear tidings of Love's servants. The palace is situated

> "Right even in middes of the weye
> Betwixen hevene, erthe, and see."

Every sound passes to this place. Now, the eagle indulges in a long discussion of sound. At last, however, they arrive at the House of Fame, and the eagle leaves Chaucer. An invocation to Apollo, at the beginning of the third book, prepares the way for a continuance of the story. The palace is situated on a rock of ice: on one side are graven names of famous people; on the other they are almost illegible. On the top of this hill is the palace, built of stone of beryl. Inside are "gestioures and minstrales," musicians, trumpeters, magicians, and the like. The hall is plated with gold. On a daïs sits the Queen, now little, now of immense size. From the daïs, straight down to the doors, are many pillars on which stand "folk of digne reverence." Various companies of suppliants approach and ask boons. The goddess grants as she lists. Some one at Chaucer's back now questions him as to the cause that brought him thither. It is, says Chaucer, to learn tidings "of love or swiche thinges glade." The stranger offers to take him to the house of tidings. It is a revolving house, made of twigs, yellow, red, green and white.

"About 1379," he says, "perhaps as the first response to the stimulus (surely not to be limited for its sources to the Italian books he read) of the second Italian journey, we may suppose the *Hous of Fame*, the most important use of his first narrative metre, to have been written."

The eagle, who has been sitting on a rock, takes the poet into the revolving house. Its revolution ceases, and Chaucer has a chance to look about. As he is roaming through the house, he sees in a corner where "men of love tydings tolde"—"a man of greet auctorite." So, abruptly, the poem ends.

The *Hous of Fame* was, I believe, like the *Duchesse*, directly inspired by the Old French love-vision literature. It is, with all its variations from the type, a love-vision of the *genre* to which belong the *Roman de la Rose*, the *Paradys d'Amours*, and the *Duchesse*. If this view of the origin of the *Hous of Fame* be accepted, we shall be able to clear up some of the much disputed problems in regard to the sources and meaning of the poem. I may say a word as to the attitude of critics toward the *Hous of Fame*, before I enter upon a discussion of the relation of the poem to the love-visions. No other poem of Chaucer's has, I dare say, received such varied interpretations and explanations.[1] The most noteworthy explanation was that first set forth by ten Brink,[2] and later presented in great detail by A. Rambeau.[3] These scholars believed that the *Hous of Fame* is an imitation of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Ten Brink says in his essay on the subject: "Dass wir hier eine im Sinne des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts

[1] I append here a sufficiently complete list of references:—Thomas Warton, *History of English Poetry*, ed. by Hazlitt, 4 vols. Lond. 1871, vol. ii. pp. 331–336; A. T. Clasen, *De Galfredo Chaucero Poeta*, Helsingforsiae, 1851, pp. 49–52; E. G. Sandras, *Étude sur G. Chaucer*, Paris, 1859, pp. 116–25; ten Brink, *Studien*, 1870, pp. 88–124; A. W. Ward, Chaucer (*Eng. Men of Letters*), London, 1879, pp. 94 ff.; Adolf Rambeau, *Chaucer's Hous of Fame in seinem Verhältniss zur Divina Commedia*, in *Englische Studien*, vol. iii. pp. 209 ff., 1880; H. Willert, *Hous of Fame*, Diss., Berlin, 1883; E. Uhlemann, *Chaucer's Hous of Fame* and *Pope's Temple of Fame*, *Anglia*, VI. (1) 107–125, 1883; ten Brink, *Geschichte der eng. Litt.* II. (1893), pp. 107–111; J. Koch, Review of H. Willert's Dissertation in *Anglia*, VII. (3) 1884, pp. 24–30; E. Koeppel, *Chauceriana*, *Anglia*, XIV. (2) pp. 227–267 (1891–2). V. *Boccaccio's Amorosa Visione*; C. G. Child, *Chaucer's Hous of Fame* and *Boccaccio's Amorosa Visione*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, X. (6) cols. 379–384, 1895, Baltimore; W. J. Courthorpe, *History of English Poetry*, 5 vols., New York and Lond., vol. i. pp. 270 ff.; W. W. Skeat, *Minor Poems*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1896, pp. lxx–lxxiii; A. C. Garrett, *Studies on Chaucer's Hous of Fame* (*Harv. Studies and Notes*, vol. v. pp. 151–175, 1897); B. Frank Heath, *Globe Chaucer*, 1898, Intro., pp. xliii–xliv; F. J. Snell, *Fourteenth Century*, Lond., 1899, pp. 303 ff.; W. A. Neilson, *The Court of Love* (*Harv. Studies and Notes*, vol. vi. pp. 143 ff., 1899); F. J. Snell, *Age of Chaucer*, Lond., 1901, pp. 179–186; W. P. Ker, *Essays on Mediæval Literature*, Lond., 1905, pp. 81–82, 93–94, 117.

[2] *Studien, loc. cit.* Ten Brink's ample statement of his view confirms the concise expression of opinion in regard to the poem by E. G. Sandras, *op. cit.*

[3] *Englische Studien, loc. cit.*

komische Entwicklung vor uns haben, ist klar, und eben so klar dürfte es uns werden, dass Chaucer hier im kleinen eine Komödie nach Dantischem Muster, ein heiteres und leichtes Gegenstück zur Divina Commedia entwarf." Rambeau confirms ten Brink's opinion. In his summary he declares: "In unserer Untersuchung glauben wir den Einfluss von Dante's Divina Commedia auf Chaucer's *Hous of Fame* nicht bloss in dem allgemeinen Gedankengang und der Anlage dieses Gedichtes, sondern auch in vielen einzelnen Punkten zur Genüge dargelegt zu haben." This theory of the direct and pervasive influence of the *Divine Comedy* on the *Hous of Fame* is now discredited.[1] Another theory in regard to the sources of the *Hous of Fame* that should be mentioned here is that advanced by Dr. A. C. Garrett.[2] As the genesis of the structure of the *Hous of Fame*, he sets up the combined folk-tale motives of the eagle and the glass mountain. Chaucer's eagle is the eagle of folk tales who carries a hero to a high mountain. His hill of ice is the glass mountain of folk-lore. The Goddess Fama is the witch of the enchanted palace. This theory, for reasons which will appear later, is untenable. Chaucer may have been influenced by some folk-lore elements, just as he was certainly influenced by the *Divine Comedy*. But in each case, the influence was subordinate; it was not the primary impulse for the composition or construction of this vision-poem.

These theories as to the sources of the *Hous of Fame*, it will be observed, consider the poem practically by itself, with no reference to the other poems of Chaucer which were written likewise in the vision-form. Now we have seen that the *Duchesse*

[1] See Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II. pp. 236–248. "The whole extent to which the English poet may be incontestably said to be indebted to the Italian one in the *Hous of Fame* can be hardly made to stretch beyond twenty lines." This mathematical calculation of influence is of dubious value. See, however, in the *Journal of Comparative Literature*, vol. i. No. 3, 1903, a review by Professor F. N. Robinson of Signor Cino Chiarini's *Di una imitazione inglese della D. C., La Casa della Fama di G. Chaucer*, Bari, 1902. Also Part II. of this study. For contributions to the matter of the influence of Dante, other than works heretofore mentioned see Alfons Kissner, *Chaucer in seinen Beziehungen zur ital. Litt.*, Bonn, 1867; J. R. Lowell, *My Study Windows*, 1871, pp. 187 ff.; F. T. Palgrave and C. N. Herford, *Academy*, 1889, 1(887) 305–6, (889) 342–3, (891) 379–80, (893) 413; P. Bellezza, *Introduzione allo studio dei fonti Italiani di G. Chaucer*, Milano, 1895; E. Koeppel, *Chauceriana*, *Anglia*, XIII., pp. 185–6 (1890); C. Chiarini, *Dante e una visione inglese del Trecento*, *in Rivista d'Italia*, March, 1901; C. Segrè, *Studi Petrarcheschi*, Firenze, 1903, p. 258, n. 2; O. Kuhns, *Dante and the English Poets*, New York, 1904, pp. 33 ff.

[2] *Op. cit.*

is a vision in honour of Love, written, obviously, under the direct influence of Old French love-vision literature, and the supposition is surely *a priori* credible that the second vision-poem of this great love-poet would be actuated by the same influences which prompted the earlier poem. Let us see, from the evidence offered by the poem itself, if we may discover its distinctive feature. In the Second Book, ll. 606–698, we have the first definite statement as to the essential nature of this dream. Here the eagle declares that Jupiter wishes to reward Chaucer for his services to the god and goddess of Love by a visit to the House of Fame where he shall hear tidings of Love's folk. Later in the poem (Third Book, ll. 1885–1889) Chaucer himself tells the man who stands at his back the cause of his presence at the "place" of Fame. He wishes to hear tidings "of love or swiche thinges glade." Then, when he is in the house of tidings, at the goal of his journey, he is most concerned, if we are not deceived by the abrupt ending of the poem, in the news of love (cf. ll. 2131–2154).

These bits of evidence give us the underlying motive of the poem, the motive which was present in Chaucer's mind at its conception, and notwithstanding the modification which it underwent in the course of his work, was uppermost in his thoughts until the very end. The purpose of his journey in the dream is the purpose of the poem. We may say that this purpose is declared at the outset, for though the speech of the eagle which gives us the first hint of the motive of the poem occurs in the second book, it is really at the beginning of the dream. The motive of the dream,—that is, the motive of the poem,—is, then, that of a journey to the House of Fame, where Chaucer may learn about Love—it is the reward which a love-poet is to receive for his services to Love and to Love's servants.[1]

If we accept such a conception as this as the motivating influence in the *Hous of Fame*, it follows that we must reject the theory that the idea of fame or worldly honour was uppermost in Chaucer's mind at the time of the composition of the poem, and with it, the doctrine so long insisted upon, that the poem is an autobiography dealing with certain phases of his

[1] Chaucer himself tells us, through the medium of Alceste, that the *Hous of Fame* is a poem in praise of the name of Love (*Prologue to Legend*, ll. 415–417, B-version).

poetic experience and with his immediate personal situation. We shall find support for such a position in a consideration of several aspects of the vision.

In the first place, until the third book (l. 1136*ca*) there is never a hint that the poet has at all in mind the idea of fame in the sense of worldly honour or reputation. The house to which the eagle is taking him is a house of tidings where he shall hear many things about Love. The classical conception of the goddess Fama as a messenger of tidings and of her house as a house of rumour, is preserved. Moreover, as I have mentioned before, the ultimate goal of his journey is the house in the valley, not the palace on the hill. It is here that he attains the object of his journey—more experience of "Love's folk." The new conception of the goddess of Fame and her dwelling, as illustrated by the account in the third book, it must be admitted, has a prominent place in Chaucer's dream, and if we are to believe that the idea of fame as worldly honour was not at the basis of the poem, this striking modification of an original idea must be explained away. To this aspect of the problem we may now turn our attention.

At the end of the second book of his poem, Chaucer had reached the point in his dream where it was necessary for him to decide upon the actual description of the "place" of Fame. Manifestly, the meagre description of the goddess and her house by Virgil and Ovid would be insufficient for the purpose of a poet who wished to describe here his goddess and her abode in a manner not unworthy of the wonderful descriptions of divinities and their homes which he could find in his various "authors." Virgil's "monstrum horrendum" could hardly furnish suitable material for the imaginative portrayal of a goddess by a mediæval love-poet. And, besides, Ovid's description of the residence of Fama hardly admitted of such enlargement in details as would satisfy the notions of a love-poet of the time—and such it may be said Chaucer then distinctly was—of a divine habitation.

These limitations in his sources would inevitably force Chaucer to think of the most famous divinities of which he knew. Now the divinities that would interest Chaucer most would be the goddess of Love and the goddess of Fortune. The description of these goddesses, their attributes, and their dwellings would naturally be most suggestive to him in amplifying the picture of

his own goddess and her abode. But would they not also be likely to suggest to Chaucer an enlargement or modification of his *conception* of the goddess Fama? The first suggestion, we should expect, would be that the idea of this goddess of Fame or Rumour might be enlarged by adding to her simple functions of hearing tidings and spreading them abroad, the more powerful attribute of sitting as a divinity to decide on the worldly fame of mankind. The suggestion would come, however, accompanied by Chaucer's own ideas of fame arising either as the result of his own reflection or from his reading of philosophical discussions. The possibility of so intricate, and yet so simple and natural, an influence from portrayals of the goddesses of Love and Fortune and from the idea of fame in the abstract, is very much greater when we recall, first, the close association of these goddesses in the love-visions, and second, the fact that in the philosophical treatment of fame most likely at this time to have engaged Chaucer's attention—that of Boethius—the discussion is very closely allied with a consideration of the vicissitudes of Fortune. It is not easy to estimate the extent of the influence of descriptions of the goddesses of Love and Fortune on Chaucer's description of a goddess of Fame or Renown. Bearing in mind, of course, that the gradation from a goddess of tidings, a goddess who sits in a house up in the air, and makes known events throughout the world, is after all not very great to a divinity who is primarily, as it seems, concerned with spreading or concealing men's worldly fame, we may yet feel reasonably safe in saying that the descriptions of the goddesses Love and Fortune which (as I hope to show in another place)[1] gave to Chaucer the hints for the most striking characteristics of his portrayal of the goddess of Fame and her dwelling, furnished likewise the first hint for the poet's *conception* of this unique figure in the pantheon of mediæval poets.

If the explanation which has just been offered for the new conception of the goddess of Fame be sound, there is nothing in the way of an acceptance of the theory at first proposed—that the underlying idea of the *Hous of Fame* is the experience of a poet as a servant of Love; in other words, the journey of a poet to a place where he shall hear tidings of Love. The poem is a

[1] Part III. chap. v.

love-vision, and may, like the *Duchesse*, be studied in its relation to the *genre* of love-vision literature.

The essential point of contact between the *Hous of Fame* and the Old French love-visions is, as I have indicated above, that it is a dream in which the experience of a love-poet is described by means of mythological elements. The underlying idea of the poem and the essential elements of the form and subject-matter are clearly due to the influence of the love-vision. It will be of interest now to consider briefly the characteristics of the poem.[1]

The suggestion for the opening discourse on dreams most probably came from the love-visions. The substance, though having in it reminiscences of past discussions of dreams, is essentially original. The device of the invocation, though not a notable characteristic of the love-vision, is not foreign to its spirit. It is possible, though I attach little importance to the observation, that Chaucer was indebted to Froissart for the suggestion of these invocations. If the English poet was beholden to any one for the subject-matter of his first invocation, it was Froissart. Froissart calls often on Morpheus in his *L'Espinette Amoureuse*, in his *Paradys d'Amours*, in the *Tresor Amoureux* (not certainly by Froissart). In the last-named work, ll. 615 ff., Amour tells the author how to begin his book.

> "Regarde cy premierement
> Le dieu des songes, Morpheüs;
> En après vecy Orpheüs,
> D'armonie et de melodie
> Le souverain. Met t'estudie
> A Morpheüs tant aourer
> Qu'en bien te veuille colourer
> Ton songe et en fin advertir
> A toute honneur et convertir."

For the last two invocations Chaucer may have received suggestions from Dante or Boccaccio. The source of the subject-matter cannot be investigated here. It is enough for us to know that the idea of the invocation is entirely in harmony with the traditions of the love-vision.

The Temple of Venus, with the story of Troy graven on its walls, is a most appropriate element of the love-vision. A dis-

[1] A full discussson will be given in Part III.

regard of this fact has led to unjust estimates of its importance in the poem. The long description of the scenes painted on the wall is by no means, as some one has said, a digression. The temple itself, and the story of Dido and Æneas are in perfect accord with the spirit of the love-vision. The length of the story is no evidence of a digression, when we consider the interest that this feature of the poem would have for the court-circle for whose delectation the poem was evidently written. It is only when we look at the poem from the position of the modern reader at his library table, or when we wrongly assume that Chaucer's chief purpose in the work was to portray allegorically his reflections on fame, that we are at all justified in calling the story of Dido and Æneas a digression. The suggestion of the temple of Love came from the love-visions; the story of Dido and Æneas came probably from his favourite author Virgil, but was enlarged by Chaucer himself in a manner consonant with the nature of a love-poem.

In this glance at some of the interesting particulars of the poem, we may mention, as characteristic of the love-vision, Chaucer's laying emphasis on the wonderful nature of the dream, his giving the exact date and circumstances. Another noticeable feature of the narrative is the long discussion of sound in the second book. Scientific or philosophic discussions do not, as a rule, occur in love-visions. The philosophical element, however, is very strong in Jean de Meun's part of the *Roman de la Rose;* and Chaucer with this model before him, may have felt no incongruity in including remarks on sound in his love-vision. It is more probable that he inserted it on an impulse from his own mind. The subject-matter of the poem would suggest it.

The remaining significant elements may now be briefly referred to:—1. the eagle as a guide, and the aërial journey; 2. the goddess of Fame and her palace; 3. the house of twigs. It is interesting to observe in what respect the Fame material which Chaucer had from the classics and the love-vision material have interacted on each other. The situation of the house of the goddess of Rumour, high up in the air, causes Chaucer to introduce into love-vision literature a new kind of guide and an aërial journey. In other words, it makes it necessary for him to abandon the characteristic setting of the love-vision, and with it, the usual guide—a divinity or a damsel in the service of the

divinity. It likewise furnishes Chaucer with an opportunity for the discussion of sound. The love-vision material, on the other hand, is one of the determining influences which cause the vital modification of the classical tradition of the goddess Fama. She is no longer a "monstrum horrendum," a bearer usually of evil tidings. She has become a powerful goddess with a stationary residence, worshipped by famous men, and having power to extend or suppress men's fame. Moreover, in addition to the enlargement of her functions, the love-vision material is also primarily responsible, as I have indicated previously, for the two-fold nature of the "place" of Fame. The old character of the house of tidings could not be maintained in this new palace of a goddess of Fame or Worldly Honour. But even with the special interest that Chaucer has in depicting the goddess of Worldly Honour in her majesty and amid the splendours of her palace, he has by no means lost sight of the purpose of his journey, which was to go to the house where he should hear news of love. He feels, however, the need of new material for the house of tidings. Hence the device, entirely new to the love-visions, of a revolving house made of twigs. New material there is assuredly in the *Hous of Fame*, material foreign to the love-visions; but so adapted by Chaucer to his purpose that he preserves the essential characteristics of the love-visions while he is adding to the *genre* much new poetic material.[1]

The Parlement of Foules.

If I have succeeded, without recourse to the evidence which might be added from a close study of the details of the poem, in making clear the dependence of the *Hous of Fame* on the love-visions, I feel more confidence in approaching the third of Chaucer's dream-poems, *The Parlement of Foules.*

The poem opens with a reflection on the wonderful nature of Love. According to his custom of reading old books, the poet happens one day on the Dream of Scipio. He reads until night deprives him of his book for lack of light. African comes to

[1] One should, of course, not be surprised to find in the love-visions of the fourteenth century many elements seemingly foreign to the love material. Allowance must be made for the personal taste of the poet, and for the almost inevitable additions which would be made as the *genre* grew older. Cf. for instance the Arthurian romance, into which so much foreign material was injected.

him in his sleep and says that he will requite the poet for reading this book. After the invocation to Cytherea, Chaucer tells the happenings of his dream. African seizes him and brings him to a park, on the gate of which are two inscriptions: one points the way to "good aventure," the other to danger. As soon as they enter the park, African disappears. Inside are many trees, a garden full of flowers, and birds. Music fills the air. Beside a well are Cupid and many abstract figures. Upon great pillars of jasper is a temple of brass, the temple of Venus. Within the temple are many divinities, and in a privy corner, Venus and her porter *Richesse*. Painted on the walls are many stories. Leaving the temple, the poet comes again into the green place. A queen sits here in royal estate—the noble goddess Nature, who holds a court of birds. It is St. Valentine's Day, when every bird must take its mate. After the decision of Nature in regard to the formel, the court is dismissed. The poet awakes and takes to other books.

The close similarity of this vision to the general type of Old French love-visions has at times been hinted at by critics. The striking fact, however, about almost every notice of the *Parlement* is the tendency of the commentator to consider each element of the poem separately, to find an actual source for the details of each conception. The poem must be studied as a unit; for as such it surely took shape in Chaucer's mind. The necessity of a further study of the fundamental conception of the poem becomes evident the moment we look at the very curious and improbable explanations that have been made.[1] The attitude of the latest editor of the *Parlement* illustrates the misconception which prevails in the minds of some critics as to its fundamental nature. In his introduction to the *Parlement*,[2] Mr. Heath says: "As Dr. Kôch has shown, the poet must have been commissioned, in the summer of 1382, to celebrate the wooing and winning of Anne of Bohemia by Richard II. . . . Anne is represented in the poem by the formel (*i.e.* female) eagle, and Richard by the royal

[1] For various opinions in regard to the poem, see—E. G. Sandras, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–72; John Koch, *Essays on Chaucer*, Part IV. (Ch. Soc., 2nd Series, No. 18, 1878, pp. 400–409); Lounsbury, ed. *Parlement*, Boston, 1877, Introd.; *Studies in Chaucer*, vol. iii. p. 412; E. Koeppel, *Chauceriana*, *Anglia*, XIV. (2), 227–267; ten Brink, *Geschichte der eng. Litt.*, ii. pp. 85–89; W. J. Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, vol. i. pp. 268–9; F. J. Snell, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 301–303.

[2] Globe *Chaucer*, p. xxxix.

eagle, while the two tercels (*i. e.* males) of lower kind, who plead for her love, are the Prince of Bavaria and the Margrave of Misnia, to each of whom Anne had been in turn contracted.

"The material supplied was too slight in itself for a poem of sufficient length and dignity, so the poet elaborated and ornamented his theme by a summary of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, a description of the Garden of Love taken from the *Teseide* of Boccaccio, and a description of Nature and her birds based upon a passage in the *Planctus Naturæ* of Alain de l'Isle, though the Cistercian bishop had represented them in mediæval manner as embroidered on the garment of the goddess, not as Chaucer does, full of life and wit."

What a *pot-pourri* of literary reminiscences such a method of interpretation would make of this consistently harmonious vision! We should be as much justified in attempting to describe St. Paul's Cathedral by an enumeration of the material used in the construction as to account for Chaucer's vision by an assembling of the poetic material employed in developing the underlying idea. The summary of the *Somnium*, the description of the Garden of Love, and the description of Nature and her birds are not used to elaborate and ornament any theme such as this suggested by Dr. Heath. They are, truly enough, ornaments of the actual theme of the vision, which is the experience of a love-poet. Every element of the poem is in perfect harmony with the general plan of the vision, which is likewise in entire accord with the conventional requirements of the *genre* to which the poem belongs. It is, as I hope to show now, a love-vision whose form and poetic conception are due entirely to the Old French vision literature which had already furnished the essential characteristics of the *Duchesse* and the *Hous of Fame*.

The purpose of the poem seems quite clear. It was written to celebrate the love-story of Anne of Bohemia and Richard II. The form is that of a vision, and under cover of this poetic device the poet tells his experience as a servant of Love. Here we have again the love-vision frame-work—the dream, the journey with a guide to the divinity who gives awards to lovers. The characteristic setting of the love-vision is used—the garden full of flowers and trees and singing birds. The material is mythological and allegorical—the Garden of Love, Cupid, the Temple of Venus, the goddess Nature holding a court of birds.

The two stanzas at the beginning of the poem indicate the spirit which moves Chaucer in the composition of his vision. He is astonished at the wonderful workings of Love. The device of reading a book, as in the *Duchesse*, where the story of Seys and Alcyone is told, comes from the love-visions. The particular book is now the *Somnium Scipionis*. The book itself has no special significance. It is merely the book which interests Chaucer at this time and which he is eager to tell about. He relates the story just as he relates the tale of Seys and Alcyone. The guide African leaves him at the entrance to the Park, and after that there is never a suspicion of any influence from the *Somnium Scipionis*.[1]

The idea of the invocation may be one of the conventional devices which Chaucer took from the love-visions. What source, if any, he may have had for the actual thought of the invocation I do not know. The interesting point about the

[1] The influence of the *Somnium* on the *Parlement* has been much overestimated. Ten Brink (*Gesch. der eng. Litt.*, ii. p. 86) says:—"As in the book of the *Duchesse*, he (Chaucer) resorts to the common practice and describes a vision where he sees an allegorical action taking place. In both poems, the vision is introduced in much the same way. In the *Parl. of Foules*, too, the original idea is suggested by a famous book of which the poet mentions the contents. This time it is not Ovid but the *Somnium Scipionis*. . . ." Professor Neilson (*Court of Love*, p. 142) says of the *Parlement*:—"The form is again that of a dream, and the debt to the *Somnium Scipionis* and the commentary of Macrobius is not only openly acknowledged, but Africanus himself acts as guide to the hero as he enters the 'parke, walled with grene stoon.'" This statement is seemingly at variance with Mr. Neilson's previous declaration (p. 52), that the *Roman de la Rose* is responsible for the framework of the vision in Chaucer. A very surprising statement in regard to the influence of the *Somnium* is that made by Mr. Oscar Kuhns in his *Dante and the English Poets*, New York, 1904, p. 33, footnote. "This poem," he says, "is a direct *imitation* [italics are mine] of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, although Dante is mentioned by name in it, and there are very evident reminiscences of the *Divine Comedy*."

The influence of this Dream of Scipio on the development of mediæval vision literature has not been adequately discussed. Its direct influence on the *genre* of the love-vision I believe to have been very slight. Not a trace of its influence on the form or the subject-matter of the poem appears in the most famous of love-visions—the *Roman de la Rose*. The sole mention of the Dream of Scipio occurs at the very beginning of the poem. Here, in his discussion of the truth or falsity of dreams, Guillaume de Lorris merely cites as authority the famous dream of Scipio, "of which Macrobius long ago the story wrote." No more importance is to be attached to this statement in regard to the influences of the Dream on the *Roman de la Rose* than to Chaucer's references in the *Hous of Fame* to the dreams of Isaye or Nabugodonosor. The dream-form had become attached to the conventional love-worship material before the *Roman de la Rose*. That the *Somnium* is responsible for the use of the dream device by the love poets seems highly incredible. A much more likely source is the visions of hell, purgatory, and heaven, many elements of which have seemingly been appropriated by the love-poets.

invocation for our purpose is the acknowledgment by Chaucer of Cytherea as the blissful lady who made him dream his dream —additional evidence as to Chaucer's own conception of his vision.[1]

Now that we come to the story itself, we notice first that the idea of the Garden of Love is a conventional element of the love-vision. For much of the detail of his description, however, Chaucer goes to Boccaccio's *Teseide*, a love-poem with many elements similar to those of the love-visions. The conception of the goddess Nature holding a court of birds on St. Valentine's Day, and giving her awards, is due solely to the love-vision poetry. In a love-vision by Jean de Condé,[2] we have what might well have been the original of the scene in the *Parlement*. There Venus sits on a gorgeous throne and surrounded by her birds hears the complaints of the Canonesses against the Grey Nuns. The use of the goddess Nature, a divinity likewise present in the love-visions, instead of Venus, might be accounted for by the fact that Venus had appeared already in the temple. It was necessary to have some other goddess; and who more appropriate than Nature? With the fundamental idea of the scene furnished him by the love-visions, Chaucer is free to amplify it in accordance with his artistic tastes. We may leave out of consideration here how much of the life of the description is due to Chaucer's own invention. For some of the details of the court-scene, Chaucer is indebted to Alanus de Insulis, who in his *De Planctu Naturae* pictures Nature with the birds embroidered on her garment.

The part which Alain's portrait of Nature plays in this poem has been as a rule curiously misinterpreted. Professor Skeat's comments will illustrate the nature of this erroneous criticism.[3] He divides the *Parlement* into four parts, and says that "the fourth part, l. 295 to the end, is occupied with the real subject of the poem, the main idea being taken, as Chaucer himself tells us, from Alanus de Insulis." Now Chaucer does not say nor

[1] I may refer also again to the passage in the *Prologue to the Legend*, where Alceste classes the *Parlement* as a book made in praise of love (ll. 414–423).

[2] *La Messe des Oisiaus.* See *ante*, p. 3. Cf. E. Koeppel, Herrig's *Archiv*, xc. pp. 149–50—He refers to *Florance and Blancheflor*, where two maidens dispute as to who is the better lover, a knight or a clerk. Cf. also Garrett, p. 168, who refers to councils of birds in folk-tales.

[3] *Minor Poems*, p. lxi. See also Neilson, p. 142; F. J. Snell, *Age of Chaucer*, p. 171.

does he even hint that the main idea is taken from Alanus. He refers merely to the appearance of the goddess. Speaking of Nature he says—

> "And right as Aleyn, in the Pleynt of Kynde,
> Devyseth Nature of aray and face,
> In swich aray men mighten hir ther fynde."[1]

The main idea is not taken from Alanus. The entire conception of the goddess Nature and her court is due to the love-vision poetry. The description of Nature by Alanus serves merely to aid in elaborating the court-scene. Precisely the same service—that of contributing material for the development of a device or idea—is rendered by the *Somnium Scipionis* and Boccaccio's *Teseide*. Given the dream framework and the conventional elements of the love-vision Chaucer would naturally use material from any source whatever for the purpose of ornamenting his essential matter and thus of increasing the effectiveness of his vision.

The Prologue to the Legend.

We come now in our study to the last of Chaucer's vision-poems—the *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women*. For the purpose of this investigation the *Prologue* may in general be considered apart from the legends to which of course it logically belongs. The two versions of the *Prologue*, though differing from each other in many respects, agree at least in this one particular—the dream in which the poet appears before the god of Love and Alceste is in both the most important element. To most critics, therefore, the *Prologue*, though preserved in two versions, has presented itself as a vision-poem in the style of the Old French mythological visions to which I have often referred. Ten Brink,[2] for instance, says: "For the last time, Chaucer here makes use of the traditional form of an allegorical vision. We are placed at the commencement of the

[1] *Minor Poems*, ll. 316–18. Prof. Lounsbury introduces in this connection his favourite mathematical computation (*Studies in Chaucer*, iii. 412): "He (Chaucer) refers to this author (Alain) just as in scores of places he refers to other authors, but the utmost he derives from him in this poem are a few scattered words and phrases." Is there not exaggeration here on the other side of the question?

[2] *Gesch. der eng. Litt.*, ii. p. 114. For critical remarks on the *Prologue* see the list of references given by Professor J. L. Lowes on p. 593 of the article mentioned on p. 26.

month of May. The poet, who has passed the whole day in the meadow among the flowers, listened to the song of the birds and regarded reverently his favourite flower, the daisy, now in a dream imagines himself in the same situation." Following ten Brink and others, I should very briefly have attempted to bring the *Prologue* into accord with Chaucer's other visions, and with the *genre* of vision-literature to which I believe they all belong. But quite recently a study of the two versions has appeared[1] in which the theory has been argued for that the longer version differs structurally from the shorter version—in short, that it may be divided into two parts, the latter only being in the vision form. This emphatic statement in regard to the structure of the B version[2] of the *Prologue* has been assailed by Dr. J. C. French, who declares:—"The bifurcation of the F(B) version at l. 196 is entirely arbitrary. The two parts are indeed distinguishable, as are the actual and dream portions of the *Duchesse;* but they are not structurally distinct. . . . ."[3] In answer to this rejoinder of Dr. French, Professor Lowes replies with a clearer statement of his own position.[4] "Dr. French's assertion" (p. 32), he says, "'that the bifurcation of F(B) at l. 196 is entirely arbitrary,' is an extreme reaction upon a statement which, it may be frankly admitted, was perhaps itself somewhat too strongly put. Arbitrary the division ('bifurcation' is Dr. French's word) at B196 is not; but a happier statement of the position criticized would have laid the emphasis first, as well as last (see *op. cit.* p. 680—the passage which Dr. French overlooks) upon the *mechanical* character of the unity of B (whose unity, *of this lower type*, it was never intended to deny) as contrasted with the *organic* unity of A. The contention is not for unity vs. lack of unity, but for a higher vs. a distinctly lower type of it."

With this view of the structural difference between the two poems, I agree heartily. I cannot, however, accept the explanation offered by Professor Lowes of the sources of the B-version.[5] The

[1] John L. Lowes, *The Prologue to the Legend of Good Women as related to the French Marguerite poems and to the Filostrato*, Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn., vol. xix. No. 4, 1904.

[2] That is, the longer version.

[3] J. C. French, *The Problem of the Two Prologues to Chaucer's Legend of Good Women.* Johns Hopkins Diss., Baltimore, 1905, p. 32.

[4] *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, vol. xx. No. 4, p. 751, foot-note.

[5] Professor J. S. P. Tatlock in a review of the dissertation by J. C. French (*Modern Lang. Notes*, vol. xxi. No. 2, 1906) accepts Mr. Lowes's theory as to

study which I have made of the structure of the B-version and of the suggested sources has led me to certain conclusions, among others, which are directly opposed to those presented in the above-mentioned argument. Briefly stated they are these:—

1. The B-version is a vision-poem whose structure cannot be explained by a division into two parts.

2. The structure of the B-version does not depend at all exclusively or even fundamentally upon the structural elements of the *Lay de Franchise* and the *Paradys d'Amours*.

Let us first have clearly in mind the general course of the longer, or as it is usually called, the B-version.

The poem opens with some general reflections on the value of old books. Chaucer delights in reading books, except when the month of May is come; then, as he says:—

"Farewel my boke, and my devocion."

In May he loves most of all the daisy, and every day he is up early to see the flower spread against the sun, and every evening he runs to see it go to rest. He laments that he is unable to praise rightly this flower, and calls on lovers "that kan make of sentement" to help him in his labour. Here follows a short praise of the flower. Now he says that he will declare later why he gave praise to books. Rising early on the first morning of May, he goes to witness the resurrection of the flower. Birds are singing lays of love and welcoming summer. Amid the fragrant flowers and singing birds, the poet prepares to stay the whole day, looking upon the daisy.

At evening he goes to his house. His bed is made in a little arbor. Falling asleep, he dreams that he is in the same meadow. From afar comes walking "the god of Love, and in his hand a quene," dressed in green and white like a daisy. He makes a song in praise of this noble lady—a *balade* of three stanzas. Behind the god of Love come nineteen ladies, and after them an enormous number of women. They worship the flower, the queen Alceste. The poet kneels with the others. The god of Love sees him and asks who he is. Upon being informed, the noble king

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the resemblance between the *Lay de Franchise* and the first 196 lines of the B-version; and admits in general, the agreements suggested between the *Paradys* and the latter part of the *Prologue*. See also a review of Mr. Lowes's article by J. Koch, *Engl. Studien*, vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 131 ff.

rebukes Chaucer for having written books against him. The lady speaks in Chaucer's defence. She tells the god of Love what books Chaucer has written in honour of Love, among them the *Duchesse*, the *Hous of Fame* and the *Parlement*. The god forgives Chaucer, and Alceste the queen gives him the penance of composing a glorious legend of good women. The god of Love now asks the poet if he knows who this lady is. "Nay, sire," replies Chaucer. Whereupon the god speaks of the book of *Alceste* which Chaucer has lying in a chest. Now Chaucer recognizes his lady. The *Prologue* ends with a speech by the god of Love, at the conclusion of which he says that he must go home to Paradise.

With this summary of the B-version before us, we may proceed to an examination of Professor Lowes's theory. "Structurally regarded," he says, "the B-version of the *Prologue* falls into two clearly distinguishable parts. The first includes ll. 1–196, and, without any hint whatever of a vision, is devoted to the panegyric of the daisy and the detailed account of a day spent in its honour in the mede. . . . The second part, including the last 383 lines of the version, is given up to the vision of the god of Love, the nineteen ladies, and Alceste—the device which constitutes the framework on which is built his Apologia for 'the Rose and eek Crisseyde,' together with his introduction to the *Legend* itself. Now it happens that for both these clearly defined sections of B there are close structural parallels in two of the poems from which we have had already evidence of borrowing in detail on Chaucer's part [1]—for the first division and in a measure for the second, in the *Lay de Franchise* of Deschamps; for the second, in Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours*." [2]

Mr Lowes now gives a summary of the *Lay de Franchise* and comments on its relation to Chaucer.[3] I will try to summarize briefly this section of his paper. Deschamps begins his poem by speaking of the power of old custom to make sweet the things one has observed from one's youth up. Among such things, he includes the doing honour and reverence to May. On the first

[1] Mr. Lowes is here referring to the previous part of his discussion of the two versions, pp. 593–634. For a just appreciation of the foundation on which the argument under discussion rests, the reader must consult these earlier pages, to the detailed evidence of which I have necessarily been unable to give adequate attention in my discussion of the structural parallel theory.

[2] *Prologue to the Legend*, Publications, vol. xix. No. 4, p. 635.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 635–641.

day of May, accordingly, he does his observance. "So far of course," Mr. Lowes observes, "the *Lay* might be any one of a hundred conventional May-day poems; but at this point it differentiates itself sharply from the type by proceeding to focus the May-day worship upon the *marguerite*. . . . The next 33 lines, accordingly, are given up to singing—partly after the stereotyped fashion, partly with fresh detail, partly, it will be remembered, in the very phrases that Chaucer seems to have used—the praises of the *marguerite*. It will be noted at once that it is just this concentration of the May-day observances upon the daisy which constitutes for the B-version of the *Prologue* its first departure from the conventional type. Nor has the worship of the daisy in the *Lay de Franchise* the dream-setting at all—another fact which detaches it from the greater number of poems of its class—and in this, once more, its treatment coincides with that of the first 196 lines of B, which constitute, as has been noted, a clearly marked section of that version. Precisely, then, where in these two respects the two treatments depart from the conventions, they come into agreement with each other."

So much of Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise*, 65 lines exactly, Mr. Lowes offers as showing a parallelism in structure to the first 196 lines of Chaucer's B-version. The two characteristics of the Lay and of the first part of the B-version which establish the structural parallel are the *worship of the daisy*, and the *absence of the dream-setting*. The absence of the dream-setting in the first 196 lines of the B-version, as far as concerns the question now before us, has, I believe, no structural significance whatever. The B-version is in entire accord in this particular with many Old French love-visions. In the *Roman de la Rose*,[1] the actual dream begins at the 86th line. Before that point there are: 1. a discussion of dreams; 2. an account of the nature of the book—it is the *Romaunce of the Rose* written for lovers; 3. praise of the month of May. In Deschamps's *Lay Amoureux*[2] the dream begins at the 90th line. The poet commences his poem with the praise of spring and the month of May. He delights in birds, woods, sweet odours, etc. Then comes the dream. While he thinks of sweet May in his bed

[1] Ed. by Michel, vol. i.
[2] *Oeuvres*, vol. ii. pp. 193 ff.

where he is sleeping, he dreams that he is walking through the forest, then to a meadow where he sees the god of Love surrounded by a company. It will be noted here, that the scene into which he enters in his dream is the same as the setting suggested at the outset. A very close parallel to the first part of the B-version is offered by Guillaume de Machault's *Dit du Vergier*.[1] The poet rises on a morning of the pleasant month of April and goes into a little garden. He delights himself with the melody of the birds, with flowers white, yellow, and pink, with the fragrance. Now he thinks of his lady. At the 119th line the dream begins. He dreams that he is in the same meadow where he was before walking.

In all of these visions, as in Chaucer's *Prologue*, the description of the May morning, with its praise of flowers and birds, serves as a device for getting the dream under way. It is an essential part of the vision. The fact that the daisy is especially worshipped in the B-version and in the Lay proves in this case nothing as to their structural relations. The suggestion for the daisy-worship may have come from Deschamps—in fact, I doubt not that Chaucer in this and other respects was much influenced by the Lay.[2] But the structure of the B-version is not affected by the introduction of the daisy—the structure was already determined by the requirements of the vision-*genre* to which the *Prologue* belongs.

This statement must now be tested by a study of the second part of the argument for the structural significance of the B-version —this is, that the framework of the vision, l. 197 to the end, was suggested in large measure by Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours*. I will not repeat here the careful summary of the *Paradys* which may be found in Mr. Lowes's paper,[3] but will proceed at once to a discussion of the relation of the so-called second part of the B-version to Froissart's *Paradys*. The following conventions of mediæval love-allegory which occur in the *Paradys*,

[1] *Oeuvres*, 1849, pp. 11 ff. Cf. also *Le Songe Vert* (text in *Romania*, 33, pp. 490 ff.). The author is in melancholy and sadness; one morning rises from his bed, goes into a garden, hears birds singing, etc. He is deprived of all joy. At l. 220 he falls asleep, sees a beautiful lady, the Queen of Love. Later on (ll. 1017 ff.) the Queen of Love shows the poet the *flor de lis*. This flower represents one who will be his lady sovereign. Then follows praise of the flower, etc.

[2] In the matter of details, Chaucer seems as much indebted to Froissart as to Deschamps.

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 642–650.

Mr. Lowes says, may be left out of account: the dream-setting, the May landscape, the meadow full of flowers (we must bear in mind, however, the fact that in the meadows of both poems, the flowers are *daisies*), birds singing of loving *par amours*, the presence of a lady who serves as advocate before the god of Love, the company in green attire before the god of Love, the mention of Danger, Pity, Right. There are left (I quote exactly from Mr. Lowes) the following parallels:

1. The offender found in Love's domain and charged with trespassing.

2. The further charge of heresy against Love's law, based on what the offender has said or sung.

3. The distinct recognition, on the part of the lady in royal habit, that her master owes mercy to the suppliant.

4. Ignorance on the part of the offender that this lady is after all some one of whom he has already known.

5. The plea of repentance on the offender's part, or on his behalf.

6. The specific glorification of the poet's lady, centering in a *balade*, under the name or form of the daisy.

That is to say, continues Mr. Lowes, the *cadre* of the *Paradys* is in striking agreement with that of the second part of the B-version of the *Prologue*—making allowance for the important fact already accounted for, that the lady for whom the daisy stands has become, instead of the poet's mistress, the counsellor of the god of Love.[1] Furthermore, the agreement of the two poems under discussion in their common *omissions* is almost as remarkable as their parallelism in what they include. And of the very few important conventions which appear in the *Paradys* but not in the *Prologue*, that of the huntsmen of the god of Love has given a suggestion which Chaucer seems already to have used after his own fashion in the *Book of the Duchesse*.

The final test which Mr. Lowes applies is that there are two striking parallelisms in detail among the common elements just noted which can scarcely be set aside as commonplaces. The one is the handling of the belated recognition on the part of the offender that the lady who acts as his advocate is after all some one whom he has already known; the other is the part played by the *balade*.

[1] This is accounted for by Mr. Lowes by an appeal to the *Lay de Franchise*.

With these suggested resemblances before us, I may now proceed to a detailed consideration. Two conclusions will, I believe, be justified by the study: the one, that these resemblances are not decisively peculiar to these two poems; the other, that these same parallelisms may bear a different interpretation from that indicated in the article under consideration.

1. The offender found in Love's domain and charged with trespassing.

It is to be observed that Chaucer is not accused of *trespassing*. He is evidently at liberty to wander where he will in the domain of Love. The god of Love asks him what he is doing so near the flower, symbolized by the Queen. Such a question by a divinity is of course a commonplace. Moreover, Froissart is not *charged* with trespassing. One of the two ladies who have been looking for the poet to punish him for his slander, says to the other: "I've found the wretch; forward, friend, at him! Well, he deserves a beating; he's come walking in our master's garden, and of our master he's had little good to say." The striking element is the fact of the punishment for the lover's complaint against his master. The shift of emphasis suggested by these observations depends, I realize, on a very precise interpretation of the passages in question. Hence if the objection to this first suggested parallelism be inconsequential I accept willingly the resemblance and pass on to—

2. The further charge of heresy against Love's law, based on what the offender has said or sung.

Now the situation in the *Paradys* is this:—Froissart, the lover, disappointed in not obtaining the favour of his mistress has uttered an informal complaint and has upbraided the god of Love. Plaisance, one of the two ladies who find him, accordingly says that he has defamed the ordinance of love and has reproached his lord. Compare the different situation in the *Prologue*. Chaucer is before the god of Love, who charges the poet with heresy (in effect, though not by the actual word) because he has translated the *Romance of the Rose*—

> "That is an heresye ayeins my lawe
> And makest wise folke fro me withdrawe."

A much closer parallel to Chaucer's situation is that in the

Tresor Amoureux.[1] Here the god of Love finds in the author's books certain displeasing things. He points out exact causes of offence just as the god of Love does in the *Prologue.*

Ll. 2570 ff.—The god of Love finds that the author has written incorrectly about him; he assembles his people and then speaks before them to the offender. (Cf. the scene in the *Prologue* where the poet appears before the god of Love and his company and receives censure from the divinity.)

Ll. 2582 ff.

"Mais tu y parles par II bouches,
Par la mienne et par l'ordenance
De la bouche de Congnoissance."

Ll. 2593 ff.

"Comment es tu si oultrageux,
Si hardi ne si courageux
Que tu dis qu'il est d'imparfais
Amoureux plus que de parfais?"

(Cf. with this the gist of the complaint of the god of Love against Chaucer—"and of myn olde servauntes thow mysseyest.")

Ll. 2600–1.

"Tu ne pues plus doulcement dire
Que tu n'es pas amant parfait."

Ll. 2615 ff.

"Et ailleurs tu as l'escuier
Fait encontre moy varier,
Où il a parlé de mon fu,
Qui encore est, sera et fu,
Que s'aucuns en est en dangier
Qu'il n'y a fors de l'esloingnier."

(Cf. the *Prologue* where the god of Love says that Chaucer has translated the *Romance of the Rose*, which makes folk withdraw from the service of Love.)

Ll. 2641 ff.

"Mais encore ay je plus d'ennoy
Que tu parles de mon dosnoy
Et dis que Nature est ma serve
. . . . . .
Mais tu faulz, car c'est ma compaigne."

After reciting the above causes of complaint, the god concludes:

[1] Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. iii. pp. 52 ff.

Ll. 2654 ff.

"Or sces tu que je suis ton roy
Pour t'en donner punicion
Sans aucune remission."

3. Distinct recognition on the part of the lady in royal habit that her master owes mercy to the suppliant.

Here again there is a notable dissimilarity between the *Paradys* and the *Prologue*. In the former one of the ladies tells Froissart that they—she and the other lady—are ordained

". . . pour faire misericorde
Au suppliant qui se recorde
De son meffet et merci prie."

In the latter Alceste, the queen, pleads before the god of Love that he should show mercy, not to a suppliant as in Froissart, but merely to this accused person.[1] Furthermore, the lady in royal habit is entirely different from Alceste. The two ladies, Plaisance and Esperance, are clothed in royal habit because they belong to the retinue of the god of Love. Alceste, on the other hand, is a queen, and hence is clothed royally. In Froissart, the god of Love is the lady's master; in Chaucer, Alceste bears no such relation. According to Mr. Lowes's interpretation, she is the counsellor, a change due to the influence of Deschamps's *Lay de Franchise*. A simpler view of the relation which Alceste bears to the god of Love will appear later.[2] A situation, essentially similar to that in the *Prologue*, occurs in the *Tresor Amoureux*, ll. 2659 ff. Beau Parler wishes to excuse the author before the god of Love:

". . . en telles offenses
Doit estre öis en ses deffenses;
Bien savez qu'il n'a riens mespris
Fors qu'en ce qui lui a appris
Congnoissance la bonne et sage."[3]

Cf. also ll. 2675 ff. The god of Love speaks:

"Il est vrai, mais se Congnoissance
Ne lui eust donné congnoissance
Que de mon hault et noble affaire,
Il n'eust osé dire ne faire
Riens contre nostre majesté."

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[1] In the *Prologue* Chaucer is not an actual suppliant. Alceste in pleading for him presents the hypothetical case of a man who may not excuse himself and hence asks mercy.

[2] p. 41.

[3] Cf. also Deschamps, *Lay Amoureux*, ii. pp. 193 ff. (No. 306), ll. 275 to end, especially ll. 295–8, referred to by Mr. Lowes.

And ll. 2683-4—

> ". . . plusieurs fois a offensé
> Vers moy."

4. Ignorance on the part of the offender that this lady is after all some one of whom he has already known.

It must be borne in mind that the function of the lady in Froissart is that of a guide or companion on a journey. She appears to the poet; he doesn't know her, but when she has told him about herself and her name, he admits that he has known her before. Now precisely the same occurrence is found in a dream-poem, much in the nature of the love-vision, by Jean de Condé, *Li Dis d'Entendement*.[1] The hero in his dream meets an old man. Asked his name, the old man replies, ll. 34–36:

> " Frere, on me nomme Entendement;
> S'il t'en souvient bien m'as veü,
> Jà a lonc temps, et conneu."

To this the hero responds, ll. 37 ff.:

> " C'est vous, sire, plus n'en couvient
> Parler, car moult bien m'en souvient
> Des fors assaus et des clamors
> Que fistes au chastel d'amors,
> Où en ma compagnie fustes
> Et au besoing mestier m'eüstes."

The only unique feature of Chaucer and Froissart, it is obvious, is the fact that there is an "offender." And this feature will not substantiate an argument for structural relations between the two poems in this detail.

5. The plea of repentance on the offender's part or on his behalf. The "plea of repentance" which Mr. Lowes finds in the Prologue, is merely this line spoken by Alceste (B 368)—

> " Or him repenteth utterly of this."

But this is by no means a plea of repentance. I may quote here the words of Dr. French[2]:—". . . it is to be noted that this is not a plea of repentance, either by the culprit or in his behalf, but one of several possible grounds of forgiveness recited by the queen. As a matter of fact, such a plea is never made in either version, but the poet to the last insists that he meant no harm,

[1] *Dits et Contes*, vol. iii. pp. 49 ff.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 34.

and seeks to defend himself, until silenced by the queen with the words, 'Lat be thyn arguinge.'"

6. Specific glorification of the poet's lady, centering in a *balade* under the name or form of a daisy. Let us have before us, as we have done in regard to the previous suggested parallelisms, the exact situation in each poem. In the *Paradys*, Froissart has been permitted by the god of Love to go to his lady, Bel Acueil. She receives him graciously, and asks if he has made anything new. He replies that he has made a *balade*, which he now recites to his lady. The *balade* is a specific praise of the *marguerite*. It has seemingly no definite reference to the lady of the poem, Bel Acueil.[1] The *balade* is recited at the very end of the poem. In the *Prologue* Chaucer catches sight of the god of Love and a noble queen, whose

> ". . . . white coroune above the grene,
> Made hire lyke a daysie for to sene."

This queen is so beautiful that he sings a *balade* in her praise. He does not, it seems to me, sing the *balade* in praise of a real woman, for the reason suggested by Mr. Lowes, that he had already sung the praise of the daisy. Chaucer is praising here a real woman, whom he is pleased at times to address as a flower, the daisy. The situation would hardly admit of a symbolic *balade* in praise of Alceste. There is never a hint in the *balade* that his lady symbolizes the daisy. He does not glorify his lady, as Mr. Lowes says, under the name or form of a daisy. And lastly the substance of the *balade* seems to be due very largely to a *balade* by Deschamps.[2]

We have now come to the final test of the relationship between the second part of the B-version and the *Paradys*—that there are two striking parallelisms in detail, which can scarcely be set aside as commonplaces.

1. The handling of the belated recognition on the part of the offender that the lady who acts as his advocate is after all some one whom he has already known.

[1] The flower is doubtless a symbol for the Marguerite of Froissart, and this lady may be portrayed in Bel Acueil. But there is no actual relation in the poem between the *balade* and the poet's mistress.

[2] *Oeuvres*, x. p. xlix. See Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, iii. 298. For remarks on the *balades* in Chaucer and Froissart, see French, *op. cit.* pp. 24–27. He says (p. 24) that "the only resemblance between the ballad of Chaucer and that of Froissart is a likeness in method, and that not remarkably close."

". . . In the present case," says Mr. Lowes, "it is the poet's own emphatic denial of all previous knowledge, after a statement or question implying that he *ought* to know which seems to differentiate the instances under discussion from the type." If the passages in Froissart and Chaucer be compared, it will be noticed that this statement or question implying that he ought to know comes *after the denial*, not before it. In the *Paradys*, the poet asks the name of his guide, and says that he doesn't know her. She replies that he ought to know her, and tells him her name. Then the poet acknowledges that he has known her before.[1] In the *Prologue*, the god of Love, with no hint that Chaucer ought to know the lady, asks him if he knows who this gracious lady is. Chaucer replies that he does not. The god of Love makes a statement implying that he ought to know her, and mentions her name. Chaucer then admits a previous acquaintance. But the parallelism is no longer striking when we recall that in *Li Dis d'Entendement* nearly the same order is observed. The hero asks the name of his guide.[2] The old man tells his name, and says that the hero ought to have known him. The hero then says that he does know him, and recalls the aid which Entendement has rendered to him. The denial in the exact words is not here, but the question by the hero as to the name implies ignorance on the part of the questioner.[3]

2. The second of the two parallelisms in detail is the part played by the *balade*. "The common celebration of the daisy," says Mr. Lowes, "comes in each poem to a focus in a *balade*, and these *balades* show striking similarities in substance, in function, and in treatment." The substance and function of the *balades* has already been discussed.[4] We may look finally at the general treatment of the *balade* in the two poems. The argument for influence of the *Paradys* follows:—"The *balade* of the *Paradys* forms, in one aspect, the real climax of the action; while from

[1] Il. 498–522.

[2] Observe that in the *Prologue* the god of Love asks the question. In both Froissart and Jean de Condè, it is the hero.

[3] I do not attempt, here or elsewhere, to suggest a definite source for any of the structural elements of the poem. My purpose is merely to show that many of the details of Chaucer's poem are not necessarily dependent upon the *Paradys*. I find decided resemblances between the *Prologue* and many old French poems, including notably the *Lay* and the *Paradys*; but I have yet to discover any firm ground for setting up an argument for a significant structural parallel between the *Prologue* and any other poem.

[4] P. 36.

another point of view, it gives distinctly the impression of being tacked on as an afterthought. It forms the climax, in that the whole poem leads up to the reconciliation between Froissart and his lady, which the *balade*, after a fashion, seals. Yet the connection of this whole closing scene with what precedes it is decidedly loose. . . .

"The *balade* of the B-version of the *Prologue* also plays an equally important part, not only through the emphasis that is laid on it when it is introduced, but in the fact that it is twice referred to later by the god of Love. . . . Yet it, too, is woven but loosely into the texture of the *Prologue*—so loosely, indeed, as to involve certain somewhat disconcerting contradictions. For not only is the direct movement of the poem interrupted, as we have seen, by its introduction, but the god of Love refers to it as something known to himself, though it is not represented as sung in his presence; and whereas the final reference to it (B 554 ff.) leads one to expect in it mention of women only, one finds, in fact, that it includes men's names as well." [1]

In some respects this is to me the most unconvincing phase of the argument for the definite structural influence of the *Paradys* on the B-version. The *balade* in Froissart may form in one aspect the climax; the *balade* in the *Prologue* is the farthest removed from such an office. The fact that it plays an important part in the *Prologue* means very little, if anything at all, when compared with the *rôle* played by the *balade* in the *Paradys*. The *balade* in Froissart, from one point of view, gives the impression of being tacked on as an afterthought. One has not, I think, such an impression of Chaucer's *balade*. It occurs logically in the middle of the poem. The contradictions which have been referred to are not serious. Chaucer had authority for the interruption which it causes. The French love-poets offended most freely in this respect by their *balades*, and lays and virelaies. Then I find no serious inconsistency in Chaucer's making the god of Love refer to the *balade* as something known only to himself, though it was not sung in his presence. The god of Love was omniscient and omnipotent. We must allow Chaucer some poetic licence. And finally, the last reference in the *Prologue* to the *balade* does not preclude the presence of men's names in this song in praise of Chaucer's lady.

Now that we have considered at some length the various sug-

[1] Lowes, pp. 656–57.

gested parallelisms between the *Paradys* and the second part of the B-version of the *Prologue*, I may sum up briefly further evidence against the direct structural influence of the Old French poem. First, I may refer to the features of the second part of the B-version which Mr. Lowes admits are not due to the *Paradys*. For the use of the personified daisy as the central figure, for the fact that she speaks not as a mistress but as a favoured subject, and for her individualization by dress, one must go to the *Lay de Franchise*. For a parallel to the kernel of Alceste's plea before the god of Love, Mr. Lowes points to the close of Deschamps' *Lay Amoureux*.[1] But granted that these details which go to make up the important characteristics of the second part of the B-version are rather contributory than essential, the noteworthy fact remains that the main structural elements of the B-version are essentially different from those of the *Paradys*. These main structural elements, all harmonious parts (if I may so call them) of a unified love-vision, I conceive to be:—1. The praise of May. 2. The description of the god of Love and the noble queen in the mead. 3. The scene in which the poet appears before these divinities. Now the main idea of Froissart's poem—the experience of a lover in gaining the favour of his mistress—is responsible for totally different structural elements. The main elements of the *Paradys* are:—1. The complaint of the lover in the meadow. 2. The meeting with the two ladies who later become his guides. 3. The interview with the god of Love in his tent. 4. The meeting with his lady. The general structure of the two poems is entirely unlike.

In the light of the evidence here presented, we are surely safe in saying that the structure of the second part of the B-version is not due to Froissart's *Paradys*. That Chaucer was much influenced by the *Paradys*, I believe with as much assurance as in the case of the *Lay de Franchise*. Indeed, Chaucer doubtless had these very books before him. The nature of whatever direct influence may have been exerted must now, however, be fairly obvious. It was not fundamental in determining the structure of the B-version. Chaucer's plan for a prologue originated in his own mind. For the conceptions of framework and subject-matter he had at his call all the traditions of the love-vision *genre*. For certain details of

[1] Lowes, p. 640, n. 2. See Deschamps, ii. 193 ff. (No. 306), ll. 275 to end, esp. ll. 295–8. See also Neilson, p. 77.

description or of the structural elements he would certainly be more likely to be influenced by some poems than by others. Those seem to have been the *Lay de Franchise* and the *Paradys*. But the extent of the influence is impossible definitely to set forth. I feel that I may be too disinclined to recognize the influence of a definite vision or love-poem on the fundamental conceptions of any one of Chaucer's visions, particularly in the case of the *Prologue*, the last of his poems in this form. My position is not without reason, however, when we remember that although we are probably in possession of the material which served Chaucer in the composition of the *Duchesse*, the *Hous of Fame*, and the *Parlement*, we have yet to find the definite poem which furnished Chaucer with the underlying idea or the plan of any of these dream-poems.

The nature of the *Prologue* (here I speak of the shorter as well as of the longer version), its position with respect to Chaucer's other vision-poems, and its relation to the group of Old French dream-poems, may now be briefly indicated. It is a vision-poem written under the influence of the *genre* of love-vision literature. It is, like the *Duchesse*, the *Hous of Fame*, and the *Parlement*, in a certain sense an original poem. Chaucer is indebted to no definite models for its primary conception or for the fundamental elements of its structure. The relation of the *Prologue* to the body of the poem must not be neglected. The idea of writing a group of legends of good women—of women true in love—is in Chaucer's mind. He feels the necessity of a prologue to the poem. It is significant for the influence which the Old French love-visions exerted on his literary workmanship, that here, for the fourth time, Chaucer feels that the form of a love-vision is for his purpose the most effective mode of expression. Once the form is determined, he has the large body of vision-literature upon which to base his poem. I cannot of course indicate the exact influences which determined for Chaucer the contents of his *Prologue*. It will be sufficient to emphasize the perfect agreement between the *Prologue* and the general type of love-vision. It is a poem in which are told by means of a dream the experiences of a love-poet. We have had before the opening reflections. Here they take the form of a talk about books. Then comes the May-day setting, with the worship of a peculiar flower, the daisy. Now the poet sees approaching in the mead the god of Love, and

by his side, a queen. The god of Love observes the poet and rebukes him for his heresy against Love's law. The queen pleads for him, and finally gives him a penance. The resemblance of these latter elements to elements of the poems of the love-vision *genre* is unmistakable. We have had before the god of Love in the meadow and by his side Venus.[1] Moreover, Venus frequently pleads for the lover. Sometimes another divinity accompanies the god of Love, as for instance in the *Tresor Amoureux*, where in a garden are the god of Love and the goddess Nature. In the *Prologue* Chaucer uses this same convention. For his special purposes he identifies the lady of royal habit with Alceste, the lady whom he has evidently long wished to know, and who is here later to appear as the inspiration of his stories of good women. With the main outline of his vision before him, Chaucer is free to roam at will in search of material. At this time, for whatever reason, he is probably especially attracted to Deschamps and Froissart, and these two poets are most helpful, as it seems to us, in furnishing him suggestions for details of his vision. But even they are but secondarily responsible for the underlying conception of the *Prologue* and for the structural elements of this poem in which Chaucer, in his delightful way, tells us, amid much intimate personal history, of his admiration for this glorious example of his group of good women—the gracious Alceste.

This study of Chaucer's four vision-poems, with attention to their form, and, in a general way, to their subject-matter, has, I hope, justified the following conclusions:—

1. That these four poems—the *Duchesse*, the *Hous of Fame*, the *Parlement*, and the *Prologue to the Legend*—are all love-visions, that is, dream-poems written by a poet in honour of Love.

2. That they were composed under the determining influence of a body of Old French love-visions which, by Chaucer's time, constituted a literary *genre*.

3. That, in accord with the preceding conclusion, no definite source or sources will account satisfactorily for the form and the fundamental elements of any of these vision-poems.

4. That, with all Chaucer's indebtedness to these Old French love-visions, his poems are essentially original productions.

[1] Cf. Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione*, cap. xv.; *La Panthère d'Amours;* also Andreas Capellanus *De Amore* (see Neilson, p. 47). Venus pleads for the lover in *De Venus la Deesse d'Amor* (Neilson, p. 43). Cf. The *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 990 fol. The god of Love is accompanied by Beauty.

Accepting these conclusions we are in a better position, I believe, to explain the varied aspects of these vision-poems, and, what is most important, we obtain a clearer idea of some phases of Chaucer's literary expression, of his artistic nature, and of his relation to his public. For in these poems Chaucer, as a court-poet, always has an eye for his audience. The vision-form was a popular one with the poets of his age, and hence with the people for whom they wrote. Chaucer is well aware of this fact. And in four dream-poems he attempts to satisfy not only his own artistic tastes, but also the demands of his courtly society. Hence it is partly from the standpoint of this circle of hearers and with a knowledge of the literary feeling of the time, that we must, if possible, approach these love-visions.

From such a point of view these poems become more intelligible. We can understand readily why, in the *Duchesse*, Chaucer should use this conventional dream-form to commemorate the virtues of the noble Blaunche, why he should have the man in black, who represents John of Gaunt, express his sorrow at the death of his lady in terms of a conventional love-complaint. And, bearing in mind the conventions of the love-vision and the interest of the audience, we feel no inconsistency in the recital of the tale of Seys and Alcyone. Likewise in the *Hous of Fame*, the long recital of the story of Æneas and Dido, as Chaucer finds it portrayed on the walls of the temple of Venus, is by no means a digression. It is justified for more than one reason. In a love-vision what could be more appropriate than the story of Æneas and Dido? Moreover, would not his hearers be greatly interested and moved by this tale of unrequited love?

When we come to the *Parlement*, we observe strikingly the effect of Chaucer's wider reading in various fields on the development of the structure of his love-vision. The device of telling a story from some book in order to introduce his dream is again present. This time he selects the *Somnium Scipionis* as a story which would interest his audience and introduce properly his dream. The general setting of a love-vision would accord with a garden of Love and a temple of Venus. He has lately been reading Boccaccio's *Teseide*, and is attracted to the description which Boccaccio gives of Venus and her temple. It is likewise something new to the court-circle—a flower from the Italian garden of this famous poet

And finally, in the *Prologue to the Legend* is most strikingly shown the lastingness of the influence of the love-vision. For here, where his main interest is in his stories of actual women, Chaucer feels that a most effective method of arousing greater interest in his tales is to represent them as being composed under the favour of the all-powerful divinity of love-poets—the god of Love.

This last glance at Chaucer's visions may serve further to indicate how widely the English poet diverged from his old French models. It is just this divergence which has obscured for some critics the true nature of Chaucer's dream-poems. Chaucer is not only more catholic in his use of material than his predecessors; he is also more subjective, more personal, more individual. His interest in the fanciful world of lovers is purely artistic. He accepts the convention of this society of love-poets; he is a servant of the god of Love. But his feeling for the real, his interest in actual men and women, and his early developed intellectual tastes, have combined to endow his love-visions with qualities which place these poems, in point of excellence, at the apogee of the *genre* of love-vision literature.

PART II

The Hous of Fame and Dante's Divina Commedia.

The relation of the *Hous of Fame* to the *Divine Comedy* has been for half-a-century a subject for discussion among scholars. Those who have expressed their opinions in print have been almost unanimous in ascribing to Dante a marked influence on Chaucer in the poem before us. E. G. Sandras, in his *Étude sur G. Chaucer*,[1] in a study of the sources of the poem, says that it was composed under the influence of Virgil, Dante, and Jean de Meung. In his conclusion, entirely unwarranted by his discussion, in which he gives most importance to Virgil, he declares that "pour se renseigner sur les origines du poëme anglais, il suffit d'ouvrir le livre de la *Divine Comédie*, et de comparer." His study, however, evidently directed men's minds to the subject.

When ten Brink published his very important *Studien* in 1870, he set forth in general and in detail the points of resemblance which he found between the *Hous of Fame* and the *Divine Comedy*. Ten Brink's opinions were upheld and his list of resemblances added to by Dr. A. Rambeau in the *Englische Studien* for 1880 (vol. iii. pp. 209 ff.).

In opposition to these scholars, Professor Lounsbury in his *Studies in Chaucer*[2] expresses his firm conviction that Chaucer was very slightly influenced by Dante; but he does not attempt, except by a partial statement of some of the theories of the opposite camp, to refute the arguments of ten Brink and Rambeau. We next hear[3] from an Italian scholar, Signor Cino Chiarini, in the *Rivista d'Italia* for 1901. He finds a marked similarity between the two poems, but adds little to what has already been said. He does, however, make a slight contribution to the literature on the subject by his mere declaration of

[1] Paris, 1859, pp. 116–125.
[2] Vol. ii. pp. 236–248 (1892).
[3] A complete list of references to the Dante and *Hous of Fame* question has already been given. Part I. pp. 13 n. and 14 n.

the unreasonableness of Professor Lounsbury's mathematical calculation of the influence of Dante on Chaucer.

In seeming disregard of this emphatic assertion of Professor Lounsbury's, Mr. F. J. Snell in his *Age of Chaucer*, 1901 (p. 179), comes out with an equally emphatic declaration :— "However, as Rambeau has shown, Dante's *Comedy* has supplied Chaucer with almost everything in the *Hous of Fame* that is vital." In the following year appeared a second contribution by Chiarini entitled *Di una imitazione inglese della Divina Commedia, La Casa della Fama di G. Chaucer*.[1] In this essay he points out many imitations by Chaucer, and sees in the *Hous of Fame* satirical reference to Dante.

Aside from the review by Professor Robinson (see note below) no attempt has been made to disprove these theories as to the strong influence exerted by Dante on the *Hous of Fame*. I wish in this part of my studies to consider section by section the arguments as presented by Rambeau. It will soon be evident that I do not attempt to discuss every minor point of similarity suggested by Dr. Rambeau.[2] In general I shall dwell longest on those arguments in refutation of which direct evidence may be adduced, and I shall doubtless leave unmentioned various statements to which, though I believe them unsound, I could reply only with a counter-assertion. Such a statement, for instance, is that of ten Brink that the *Hous of Fame* is, in the sense of the fourteenth century, a comical development, and that Chaucer threw off here a comedy which was to be an opposition piece to the *Divina Commedia*. This assertion can be answered best by the force of the accumulated arguments with respect to the details of the poem.

We may now begin the detailed study of Rambeau's article, discussing each point under the numbered section in which it occurs.[3]

[1] Reviewed by Professor F. N. Robinson in the *Journal of Comparative Literature*, vol. i. No. 3, pp. 292–297.

[2] I will refer to ten Brink only where Rambeau differs from him, or where the importance of an assertion makes necessary some mention of the earlier work.

[3] With the purpose of strengthening the positive argument attempted in Parts I. and III., I have made considerable borrowings from this section of my studies, which was earliest written, and, as the reader will soon observe, chiefly negative in force. Yet, the results here presented may serve very materially in clearing up some of the misrepresentations of this famous poem.

1. "So wohl Chaucer's *Hous of Fame* als Dante's *Divina Commedia* beschreiben einen Traum oder eine Vision als ein bedeutendes Ereigniss im Leben ihres Verfassers; beide Gedichte haben dieselbe Eintheilung in drei Bücher: eine Eintheilung die durch die besondere und eigenthümliche Entwicklung in jedem der beiden Gedichte bedingt ist." [1] The mere fact that both poems describe a dream or vision is not significant. Every one at all familiar with mediæval literature is aware of the wide-spread use of the dream as a literary device. Moreover, Dante describes his vision as if it were real. There is no *dream* as in the *Hous of Fame*. Chaucer insists often on the marvellous nature of his dream. He is greatly impressed by this literary device. In his attitude toward the dream-motive and in his actual use of it he is much nearer to the conventional love-poets of the day, who invariably fall asleep on a May morning, and in their dreams have strange adventures in their love-service.[2] We know that Chaucer was very greatly under the influence of the Old French love-poets, such as Froissart and Machault. He used also Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis;* and he almost certainly knew Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione*. But it is useless to multiply examples to show that the *Divine Comedy* is the least likely of Chaucer's "books" to have influenced the poet in this particular.

Now Rambeau further declares that this dream or vision, like the *Divine Comedy*, is a significant event in the life of the composer. We know that Dante's vision was of great significance for him. Does this vision of Chaucer represent likewise a part of his personal experience? To answer this question satisfactorily we ought to consider fully the meaning of the poem. Such a consideration must be delayed until the end of these studies. I will content myself here with an attempt to answer Rambeau's argument as briefly and concisely as possible.

His position, as I understand it, is as follows: Chaucer and Dante have reached about the same point in their life-work; they are both dissatisfied; both take the same means to relieve their minds of their burdens, Chaucer imitating Dante's great work. Rambeau sees in both poems "eine gewisse Analogie und Übereinstimmung selbst in ihrer Anlage und in dem allgemeinen Sinn

[1] The quotations at the beginning of each section are understood to be from Rambeau's essay.

[2] See Part I. pp. 11 fol.

der in ihnen enthaltenen Allegorien." This is to say, Chaucer, being in the same position as Dante, expresses his own feelings by imitating in a humorous way the solemn earnestness of the Divine Comedy!

But let us see what detailed resemblances Rambeau presents. "So wohl der Verfasser der *Divina Commedia* als der Dichter des *Hous of Fame* schauen bereits auf ein ziemlich langes, arbeitsreiches Leben zurück; beide haben eine Punkt in ihrem Leben erreicht, wo sie sich unglücklich fühlen und mit sich und ihrer Lage unzufrieden sind." Until we know when the *Hous of Fame* was composed, we cannot say whether or not Chaucer could at the time look back upon a life tolerably long and rich in work.[1] He was certainly not dissatisfied with himself and his burden at the time of the composition of this poem. He does not complain of the hardship of his official duties; nor does he show in Bk. iii. ll. 1863 ff. that he is dissatisfied with the fame that he has already secured. He has confidence in himself, and he shows it when he says, "I woot myself best how I stonde." If the poem is characterized, as Rambeau says, by a "muthwilligen und humoristischen Ton," why should we take this little bit of pleasantry as a serious under-statement? Every poet, in fact every man who thinks at all seriously of the problems of life, is likely to be somewhat dissatisfied with himself. And some men will express this feeling to their fellow-men. But Chaucer, so far as I know, never wrote a seriously disheartened sentence in any of his poems. He realized full well the transitoriness of life; but he did not sit down discouraged and wait for the time to pass. His was a very active life. He was busy all the time with his service at the court, with his diplomatic journeys, with his duty as comptroller, and with his books. But there is never a hint in all of Chaucer's poems that he was not satisfied, as far as a man has a right to be, with his work as it lay before him.

And when he wrote this poem, be it in 1374 or 1384 or, as Professor Lowes thinks, about 1379,[2] he was certainly in the full tide of prosperity. For he had a position which enabled him to live comfortably; he enjoyed the patronage of John of Gaunt, and he was in favour at court. Moreover, he could now enjoy the "grete poete of Itaile," and he was now in touch with the new

[1] If the poem was composed in 1379, Rambeau's assertion is of course not accurate.

[2] See Part I. p. 11, note.

movement in letters which first made itself felt in the land of Dante and Petrarch. Chaucer was far from being in a "condition of spiritual misery." On the contrary, it seems to me that he must have been in a state of spiritual joy at the time of the composition of this poem. The little personal touches, interpreted by some to refer to his condition of despair, are much rather to be taken as representing the joyous mood of this "elfish," elusively ironical poet—the prince of the smaller group of real humorists whose merriment does not lie on the surface, but is an essential element of their natures. Chaucer did not feel "gedruckt und gedemüthigt" when he set about the composition of the *Hous of Fame*.

We must go back for a moment to the second part of the sentence quoted at the beginning of this section: that both poems have the same division into three books, a division made necessary by the special development in each poem. This latter limitation destroys the force of whatever argument might have existed in this circumstance. If Chaucer's division had been "willkürlich," and if there were any sort of agreement between the course of thought in the three parts of the *Hous of Fame* and the three parts of the *Divine Comedy*, there might have been some ground for this comparison. As it is, we must give Chaucer the credit for the arrangement. It is hardly necessary to refer to similar divisions in other poems, anterior to the *Hous of Fame*.[1]

Following Dr. Rambeau's discussion, we find that the Temple of Venus represents Chaucer's book-life; when he comes out he is in a desert; this desert corresponds to the gloomy burden of Dante in *Inferno*, I. 1-62. Ten Brink had already offered a like opinion. The Temple of Venus is "der Zauberkreis der Dichtung." At this point in his discussion ten Brink uses a double-headed argument. In order to make the poems agree in the general course of thought, he gives this interpretation to the temple of Venus; but to reconcile the different parts of the poems, he says that the temple of Venus corresponds to the forest of Dante and likewise to Dante's hell. The Temple is manifestly over-worked.

As for the meaning, I fail to see in the temple any allegorical

[1] Cf. Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, 3rd book unfinished; *De Laudibus Stilichonis*, ed. J. Koch, Lipsiae, 1893; Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*, ed. by E. Troyel, Copenhagen, 1892; Julius Valerius, *Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis*, ed. by Kübler, Leipzig, 1888. Three books, *Ortus*, *Actus*, *Obitus Alexandri*.

significance. I cannot conceive of Chaucer's deliberately representing here any part of his life's experience. Such a process would be entirely foreign to his nature and to his imaginative expression as we know it. What he does here is exactly what so many contemporary poets were doing. The description of a temple or palace was almost an essential part of the narrative poems of the French love-writers whom he knew. The idea was a part of his general knowledge. And he treats it precisely (saving his own personal impress) as any other poet of the time would have handled it. Chaucer was probably not influenced by any one original.[1]

Too much stress should not be laid upon the waste where Chaucer finds himself on coming out of the temple. He himself has little concern with it. He needed an open field in order that his eagle might swoop down and bear him away on his journey. It bears no relation surely to Dante's burden (*Inf.* I. 1–62).

A further point of resemblance between the two poems, says Rambeau, is that both poets are freed from their condition of spiritual misery by the direct assistance of Heaven. I have already shown that Chaucer was not in a condition of spiritual misery. Dante's guide was sent through the efforts of three ladies in heaven; Chaucer's guide was sent by Jupiter, the all-powerful divinity.[2] It was not unusual for a divinity in the love-allegory poems to send a guide. See, for instance, *La Panthère d'Amours*, where the god and goddess of Love send three persons to accompany the poet. In these love allegories, the poet is usually in distress until some higher power sends aid to him. Chaucer represents himself as being in the same plight, and he is comforted in the same way. There is no reason for calling on Dante to furnish a parallel to this popular convention.

The same remark will apply with equal force to the following observation by Rambeau: Dante "sieht am Ende seiner wunderbaren Reise die Gottheit selbst, so dass er den richten Weg, den er verloren, finden kann. . . . Chaucer wird in den Stand gesetzt, den Palast des Ruhmes und den Palast des Gerüchts zu sehen,

[1] See Part III. chap. iii.

[2] Professor Kittredge suggests to me that Jupiter is mentioned merely as the ruler of the world—the heathen supreme god. Chaucer would have had suggestions for this divinity from his reading. Cf. for instance the Ganymede story, and the vision of Æneas when Jupiter sends down his messenger Mercury (*Æneid*, IV. 223 ff.).

um sich von der Nichtigkeit des Ruhmes zu überzeugen . . . so dass er dadurch getröstet und mit seinem Geschick versöhnt wird und gestärkt und erfrischt an seine Arbeit zurückkehren kann. Cf. *H. of F.* III. 2166–67 :

> 'Wherefore to study and rede alway,
> I purpos to do day by day.' "

The last two lines are not Chaucer's. Moreover, Chaucer gives no indication that he is comforted and reconciled with his fate. It is true that both poets reach the goal of their journey in the third and last book. But this is an inevitable condition of each poem, and for that matter, of all these vision-poems which include a journey to a goddess or a love-mistress. Chaucer's poem is in perfect accord with many other poems of similar general construction.

In the remainder of the first section, Rambeau is concerned mainly in what seems to me a strained and futile attempt to harmonize the three books of the *Hous of Fame* with the three parts of the *Divine Comedy*. "It is Philosophy," he says, " which under the allegorical figure of a divine messenger raises Dante as well as Chaucer from his sad condition and leads him to a knowledge of the truth." Granted that the eagle in Chaucer's poem is a symbol of philosophy, we need not go to Dante for a parallel figure. We have one already in Boethius, by whom we know that Chaucer was greatly influenced at this time. Philosophy in the guise of a woman instructs Boethius about many things and finally leads him to a knowledge of the truth ; just as the eagle, if you please, in the second book instructs Chaucer and then leads him to the House of Fame and later to the house of tidings, where he finds what the eagle promised him at the outset—more knowledge.

I shall not attempt to discuss in detail the attempt to make the two poems agree. The critic finds it difficult at times to show Chaucer's close imitation of the structure and thought of Dante's poem. "At the end of the second book," says Rambeau, "Chaucer reaches the goal of his journey, so that the third book, in which he sees the House of Fame and the house of tidings, corresponds to the whole of Dante's wandering through hell, purgatory, and paradise from the third canto of the first part to the conclusion of the whole poem." Now, what is there in common between the third book of the *Hous of Fame*

and the *Divine Comedy* from the third canto of the *Inferno* on? Nothing at all, except the obvious coincidence that two poets are beholding certain hitherto unknown or unseen things. Moreover, Chaucer is at the end of his journey at the beginning of the third book. Dante is still journeying until the latter part of the *Paradiso*.

2. "Chaucer beginnt planmässig jedes seiner drei Bücher mit einer Anrufung gerade so wie Dante (*Inf.* II., *Purg.* I., *Par.* I.), und wie bereits oben bemerkt, hat er am Anfang des zweiten und dritten Büches zwei von Dante's Anrufungen genau nachgeahmt." I will merely anticipate the discussion in Part III. chap. ii. of the argument of this section by saying that the only clear indebtedness of Chaucer is in the matter of actual material. The idea of the invocation cannot with assurance be ascribed to Dante.

3. Here Rambeau refers to the dating by Chaucer and Dante of their visions. But this is a very common practice with the mediæval poets. It is idle to give many examples of the widespread usage.[1] The following will suffice :—

Froissart, *La Cour de May*, l. 134—

"Ce fu en avril XVI. jours."

Le Joli Buisson de Jonece, ll. 859–60—

"La trentieme nuit de Novembre
L'an mil trois cens treiz et soissante."

La Panthère d'Amours, ll. 50–51—

"(Ce fu la veille Nostre Dame
Qu'on appelle l'assumpcion.")

4. "Kaum ist Chaucer eingeschlafen, so träumt es ihm, er befände sich in einem gläsernen Tempel, dem Tempel der Venus. In Nachahmung seines italienischen Vorbildes lässt er uns hier auf einer Wand eine Inschrift sehen, die, wie eine Art Einleitung die folgende Beschreibung der Gemälde, mit denen die Wände geschmückt sind, ankündigt. . . . Sie bereitet den Leser für die gleich darauf geschilderten, der Aeneide entnommen, mannigfaltigen Scenen, die in den Wandgemälden des Tempels dargestellt sind, vor : gerade so wie jene berühmte Inschrift die Dante über dem Thore der Hölle erblickt, uns die furchtbaren, herzerschütternden Scenen vorausahnen lässt. . . ." The inscriptions serve different purposes. Chaucer's is merely the opening lines of the *Æneid*, of which the story is painted. In Dante we have

[1] For several examples see *The Pearl*, ed. by C. G. Osgood, Jr., Boston 1906, p. xvi, n. 5.

the foundation of the gate itself and its purpose. Any indebtedness to Dante, in the absence of confirmatory evidence, seems quite unlikely. I may refer, of course, to the inscription in the *Amorosa Visione*, cap. ii.; but Boccaccio was much influenced by Dante in this poem, and hence this instance is worth little. Another inscription is found in Froissart's *La Cour de May*, ll. 1440 ff. It is on a tablet of gold:

> "Fuyés, fuyés de cy
> Medisans, felons, envieux
> Hardis menteurs, faulx orguilleux,
> Parjurers, deceveurs de dames!"[1]

5. In this section Rambeau mentions the importance of the *Æneid* both for Dante and Chaucer, and suggests that in some instances where an idea that Chaucer makes use of may be found both in Virgil and Dante, the English poet was probably indebted to the latter. The one instance that I shall refer to here is the use of the word Lavina.

Hous of Fame, I. 457–8:

> "And how he Turnus refte his lyf
> And wan Lavyna to his wif."

Dante uses the word *Lavina* in *Purg.* XVII. 37–39, but like Virgil, *Lavinia* in *Inf.* IV. 126. Some editors of Virgil print Lavinaque, instead of Laviniaque in *Æneid* I. 2. Now, as Professor Robinson points out, Chaucer has the word again, this time Lavine (*Book of the Duchesse*, l. 331). And Koeppel (*Anglia*, XIV. p. 238) has cited a similar use of the word from the *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 21087–8:

> "N'onques Helaine ne Lavine
> Ne furent de color si fine."

This one example will illustrate the danger of basing any part of the argument on such shadowy parallelisms.

6. Rambeau here speaks of Chaucer's desert and Dante's dark forest. He sees a certain analogy in the individuality of the description and a general similarity of ideas. Chaucer's description of his desert has many points of resemblance to Dante's desert-places, not with the dark forest.

Hous of Fame, ll. 480–495:

> "When I out at the dores cam,
> I faste about me beheld;

[1] Cf. also *Le Roman de la Rose*, 21449–55.

Then saw I but a large feld,
As fer as that I mighte see,
Withouten toun, or hous, or tree,
Or bush, or grass, or ered lond;
For al the feld nas but of sond
As smal as man may se yet lye
In the desert of Libye;
Ne I no maner creature,
That is y-formed by nature,
Ne saw me (for) to rede or wisse.
'O Crist,' thoughte I, 'that art in blisse,
Fro fantom and illusioun
Me save! and with devocioun
Myn yën to the heven I caste.'"

With this may be compared *Inf.* I. l. 64. Dante sees Virgil in a vast desert:

"Quando io vidi costui nel gran diserto,"

and *Inf.* XIV. 8, 9, and 13–18:

"Dico que arrivammo ad una landa
Che del suo letto ogni pianta rimove."
"Lo spazzo era un' arena arida e spessa,
Non d'altra foggia fatta che colei
Che fu da' piè di Caton già soppressa.
O vendetta di Dio, quanto tu dei
Esser temuta da ciascun che legge
Ciò che fu manifesto agli occhi miei."[1]

Chaucer has come out of the temple of Venus. Here he sees the eagle, his guide. So Dante is in the desert when Virgil comes to him. The sandy plain which Cato trod is Chaucer's desert of Libye. Dante makes an apostrophe to the Vengeance of God, Chaucer calls on Christ to save him from fantome and illusion. The verbal resemblances as set forth in Dr. Rambeau's article are strong, and the probability of influence from Dante is considerable.

Rambeau at the close says that Dante and Chaucer are both frightened at the solitude and roughness of the country. Chaucer may be alarmed at the solitude—one may infer this fear

[1] In this connection may be compared *La Prison Amoureuse*, ll. 1521–2:

"Venus s'en est en uns biaus plains
Où il n'avoit buisson ne haie:
Nuls n'i maint ne chiens n'i abaie."

Also ll. 301 ff. of the *Espurgatoire Saint Patriz of Marie de France*, ed. by T. A. Jenkins, Chicago, 1903—

"Apres cest fait Deus amena
Seint Patriz et si li mustra
En un desert,—uns lius guastez
Qui de gent n'est pas habitez,—"

from his words. But Dante's fear is caused by the animals which appear before him.

7. Rambeau speaks now of the three dreams in the *Divine Comedy* (*Purg.* ix. 1 ff., xviii. 143 ff., and xix. 1 ff., xxvii. 91 ff.) which may have influenced Chaucer in his use of the dream-motive, especially since in the first of these dreams appears the eagle, which gave to Chaucer the chief traits of his eagle, and probably to a certain degree the idea for his journey through the air.

The first part of this statement scarcely needs any comment. Chaucer used the dream-motive before he knew Dante. This influence cannot by any effort be traced to the Italian poet. I agree with Rambeau that Chaucer no doubt got some of the physical characteristics of his eagle from Dante.[1] The account from *Purg.* ix. is as follows:

> "In sogno mi parea veder sospesa
> Un' aquila nel ciel con penne d'oro,
> Con l'ali aperte, ed a calare intesa:
> Ed esser mi pare là dove foro
> Abbandonati i suoi da Ganimede,
> Quando fu ratto al sommo consistoro.
> . . . . . .
> Poi mi parea che roteata un poco,
> Terribil come folgor discendesse,
> E me rapisse suso infino al foco."

But for the *idea* of the eagle, of his journey through the air, we must look elsewhere than to the *Divine Comedy*.[2] It is not safe to attribute too much importance to the mention of certain stories which were a part of the common knowledge of mediæval writers. An illustration of the possibilities involved in an interpretation of such a passage as Rambeau refers to may be seen from the accompanying quotations. In the second book of the *Hous of Fame*, Chaucer is up in the air with his eagle. At l. 584 he breaks forth with an exclamation,

> "'O God,' thoughte I, 'that madest kynde,
> Shal I noon other weyes dye?
> Wher Joves wol me stellifye,
> Or what thing may this signifye?
> I neither am Enok, ne Elye,

[1] The probability of some influence from Dante's account of the eagle has been generally admitted. See ten Brink, *Studien*, p. 92; Rambeau, p. 232; Lounsbury, II. pp. 245–6; *Chiarini, La Casa della Fama*, pp. 76 ff.; a review of *Chiarini* by F. N. Robinson, *Jour. Comp. Lit.* vol. i. No. 3; Garrett, *Harv. Stud. and Notes*, v. p. 172 n. [2] See Part III. for full discussion of the eagle.

Ne Romulus, ne Ganymede
That was y-bore up, as men rede,
To heven with dan Jupiter,
And mad the goddes boteler.' "

Rambeau thinks that Chaucer must have had in mind *Purg.* ix. 22–24 :

" Ed esser mi parea la dove foro
Abbandonati i suoi da Ganimede,
Quando fu ratto al sommo consistoro" ;

and Mr. Skeat suggests that l. 588 was imitated from Dante, *Inf.* ii. 32 :

" Io non Enea, io non Paolo sono."

Now Ovid, as we have just seen, among others, refers to this story of Ganymede's being made the cup-bearer to Jove. Ovid also tells of the carrying off of Romulus (*Met.* xiv. 824). The story of Enoch is told in Gen. v. 24 ; of Elijah in 2 Kings ii. 11. But here is another place where Enoch, Helia and Ganymede occur together : *Ecloga Theoduli*, v. 65–68, 217–219, 77–80, cited by F. Holthausen, *Anglia*, xvi. p. 265 :

" Enoch, justitiae polluto cultor in orbe,
Raptus de terra nulli comparuit ultra,
Judicis adventum fidens athleta secundum ;
Lev athan contra specio praecedet Helia.
Effugium terrae Jesabel obstruxit Heliæ,
Quum distractus equis apparuit igneus axis :
Flammea, quae venit, vatem quadriga levavit.
Idaeos lepores puer exagitat Ganymedes,
Quem Jovis arreptum devexit in aethera sursum
Armiger ; oblato divum concesserat ordo
Nomen pincernae quod possedit prius Hebe." [1]

Holthausen lays stress upon the word *pincernae* in connection with Chaucer's *boteler*. But Chaucer had the following line in Ovid—" Invitaque Jovi nectar Juno ministrat." Moreover, he

[1] The names Enok and Elye were early associated. For a long list of references (Ev. John i. 21 ff., Hippolytus, Tertullian, Hieronymus, Augustine, Gregory, Alcuinus), see Fr. Zarncke, Ueber Muspilli, pp. 191 ff., in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königl. sächs.* Gesell. der Wissenschaften, 1866. Cf. *Land of Cockayne* (Mätzner, *Altengl. Sprachproben*, p. 148, ll. 13 and 14) :

" Beth ther no man but two
Hely and Enok also."

The *Anglo-Saxon dialogue of Adrian and Ritheus* : "Tell me who are the two men in Paradise who are constantly weeping and are sad ? I tell thee Enoch and Helias." See Kemble, *Dial. of Salomon and Saturnus*, Lond., 1848, pp. 200–201.

might have found the word *boutilliere* in Machault's *Le Livre du Voir Dit*, vv. 4837–8 :

> "Hebe deésse de Jouvente
> Qui des cielz estoit boutilliere,"

or in Jean de Condé's *La Messe des Oisiaus*, l. 453, "Un *boutillier* courtois y vi." He was the butler or cup-bearer to Venus. Cf. also *Le Roman de Brut*,[1] ll. 10749–50 :

> "Beduer, de l'altre partie,
> Servoit de la *botellerie*."[2]

Rambeau further thinks that the trait of the eagle's speaking in man's voice is taken from Dante :—"Im sechsten Kreis des Paradieses, der Sphaere des Jupiter, trifft Dante das Symbol des Kaiserthums, den aus wunderbaren lichtern zusammengesetzten Adler, der zu ihm spricht, vgl. Par. xviii, xix, xx." The trait of speaking in man's voice is by no means peculiar to the *Divine Comedy* and to the *Hous of Fame*. Eagles in folk-tales often speak as human beings. Cf. the Etana story [3] and stories cited by Dr. Garrett. Geoffrey of Monmouth refers to a speaking eagle (*Brit. Hist.* cap. ix. bk. ii., Bohn ed., Lond. 1901, *Old English Chronicles*). "At this place (Mount Paladur, now Shaftesbury) an eagle spoke, while the wall of the town was being built, and indeed I should have transmitted the speech to posterity had I thought it true, as the rest of the history." Speaking animals are of course very old in legend and literature. Two well-known examples are the horse Xanthos which speaks to Achilles and prophesies his death (*Iliad*, xix.); and the eagle which speaks with the voice of man to Penelope in her dream (*Odyssey*, xix.).

In the next paragraph of Rambeau's essay occurs the following suggestion of resemblance between the two poems :

"Zugleich wird man kaum die Möglichkeit bestreiten können dass Chaucers Beschreibung der Schnelligkeit und des Aussehens seines allegorischen Adlers noch von einer andern Stelle des Purgatorio beeinflusst worden ist, *Purg.* ii. 13–45, wo sich ein Engel in einem Boot mit ungehauerer Geschwindigkeit der Insel oder der meerumflossenen Berges der Reinigung nähert, in dem er seine Flügel als Segel gebraucht." Rambeau's case is decidedly

[1] Ed. by Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen, 1836, vol. ii.
[2] The word butler was so common that this comment is almost gratuitous.
[3] Part III. chap. iv. pp. 92 and 93.

weakened by so far-fetched a resemblance. Comment seems unnecessary here.

8. In this section Rambeau discusses the significance of Chaucer's eagle. Let us follow some of the detailed resemblances which are here pointed out. "Der Adler . . . ist ein Symbol der Philosophie . . . und entspricht . . . so wol dem Virgil . . . wie der Beatrice." At the end of the section he adds, "entsprechen in dem letzten Theil des dritten Buches der Mann und der Adler zusammen der Beatrice." Leaving a consideration of the symbolism of the eagle until later,[1] we may look now at further details of similarity. Chaucer and Dante, says Rambeau, are both afraid, are both comforted by their guides. But this element of fear in the presence of a guide or other allegorical visitant is very common. St. John is in great fear before his visitant (Rev. i. 17). In the *Pelerinage de la vie humaine*, the monk who is on a journey to Jerusalem, has many guides and is abashed before them all. In Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, Cicero sees Africanus in a vision—"No sooner did I know him than I shuddered. 'Draw near,' said he, 'with confidence, lay aside your dread, etc.'"[2] Boethius is "al abashed and astoned" before the woman of imperial authority. Froissart in his *Paradys d'Amours* is abashed before the two ladies who serve as his guides. It is the most natural thing for the hero to feel fear and for his guide to comfort him.[3]

The guides, says Rambeau, know the secret thoughts of Dante and Chaucer. But is not this true in practically every instance where an allegorical visitant or guide comes to a mortal? Philosophy knows the thoughts of Boethius. "The guides are both messengers of heaven." This point has been referred to above.[4] "Barmherzigkeit und Mitleid ist der innere Grund des Auftrages den Virgil und der Adler empfangen haben." These are precisely the qualities which influence the divinities and sometimes the guides in the narrative love-poems. Cf. Froissart's *Paradys* quoted in Part I. p. 34.

Rambeau now presents what seems to me a fruitless com-

[1] Part IV. pp. 167 and 170.
[2] See Translation in Longfellow's *Dante*, Boston, pp. 228 ff.
[3] See instances in folk-tales collected by Mr. Garrett. Also Schofield, *The Pearl, Mod. Lang. Pub.* xix. p. 179, 1904. Also J. L. Lowes, *Two Versions of Prologue to Legend of G. W., Mod. Lang. Pub.* xix. pp. 653–4.
[4] P. 49.

parison between *Inf.* I. 114 ff. and the *Hous of Fame*, ii. 662 ff., 672 ff., and thinks that a certain analogy cannot fail to be recognized. I see no analogy between "*thou shalt hear*" and "*udirai*," or between "*I bere the to a place*" and "*E trarrotti di qui per loco eterno.*" Here is certainly a case of *reductio ad absurdum*. Immediately following this is another useless comparison. "Auch werden sowol Chaucer als Dante von ihren Führern auf bemerkenswerthe Dinge oder Erscheinungen aufmerksam gemacht." The futility of advancing as evidence for influence of one poet on another such comparisons as this and some that follow is evident. "The eagle and Virgil are friendly to Chaucer and Dante." But are not all guides friendly to those whom they are leading? "Chaucer as well as Dante is warned to look down." Chaucer's guide says (*H. of F.* ii. 888–9): "'Now see,' quod he, 'by thy trouthe, yonde adowne,'" and Dante's leader uses practically the same expression:

> "Rimira in giù, e vedi quanto mondo
> Sotto li piedi già esser ti fei . . . ";

but there is not the slightest reason for presenting this likeness as evidence of influence of the earlier on the later work.

Just here Rambeau quotes three passages from the *Parad.* xxii. 133–35, 151–153, and xxvii. 79–84, where Dante looks down upon the earth. In a foot-note he comments on the word *aivola*, which Longfellow translates as a threshing-floor or small area. Rambeau compares the above passages with the *Hous of Fame*, ii. 904 ff.:

> "But thus sone in a whyle he
> Was flowen fro the grounde so hye,
> That al the world, as to myn ye,
> No more seemed than a prikke;"

and he thinks that Chaucer had the Dante passage in mind, though also maybe the *Somnium Scipionis*, vi. 16, as mentioned by ten Brink, s. 77—"Jam vero ipsa terra ita, mihi parva visa est, ut me imperii nostri, quo quasi *punctum* eius attingimus poeniteret." This word *punctum* is much closer to Chaucer's word. Boethius also used the word (Liber II. Prose vii.)—"Omnem terrae ambitum, sicuti astrologicis demonstrationibus accepisti, ad caeli spatium *puncti* constat obtinere rationem, id est, etc.," which Chaucer translates thus, "Certeyn thyng is as thou hast leerned by the demonstracioun of astronomye, that al

the envyrouninge of the erthe aboute ne halt but the resoun of a prykke at regard of the gretness of hevene."

There is, then, no necessity to go to Dante for the source of this word.[1]

Rambeau's last attempt in this section at reconciling the poems in every particular may be briefly summarized.

As Virgil does not accompany Dante to the heavenly paradise, so the eagle leaves Chaucer at the entrance of the House of Fame. (It will be observed, however, that the eagle does accompany Chaucer into the house of tidings, which is really the goal of his journey.) The experience of Chaucer in the House of Fame corresponds to the divine wisdom or theology in Dante's *Paradise;* but there fails a complete analogy because the experience in Chaucer's poem is not personified. One may agree that an allegorical corporification of this spiritual power is lacking in the third book. But the English poet is inconsistent, for the eagle appears again at the House of Rumour. Besides we must not forget the man at the end of the *Hous of Fame*.

Therefore in the last part of the third book the man and the eagle together correspond to Beatrice—"Jedoch war er (Chaucer) nicht im stande in der durchführung seines planes in Bezug auf die Personification eben so consequent als sein Vorbild zu sein."

Little needs to be said in answer to this part of Rambeau's argument, since in the previous part of this paper, I hope, it has been made clear that the first two parts of the *Divine Comedy* were not the model for the first two books of the *Hous of Fame*. Chaucer is inconsistent only with respect to a plan

[1] Cf. *Architrenius*, *Anglo-Lat. Satir. Poets*, I. p. 371:

> "At melior, formosa minus sollertia pubis
> Vel nihil est unum, vel quidlibet infima, mundus
> Ne labet immenso circummordetur inani,
> Terra vicem puncti recipit, collata supremo,
> Unde modis terrae visus *punctum* aestimat . . ."

Also, for the general situation, a folk-tale cited by Dr. Garrett, from Jones and Kropf's *Folk-Tales of the Magyars—Prince Merko*, pp. 644 ff: The "youngest best" has a magic mare; when he mounts her and shuts his eyes she goes like a hurricane; then she stops, stamps her foot, and says to him: "Open your eyes; what can you see?" On an immense steep glass rock the mare says, "Open your eyes; what can you see?" They are on a perilous ridge. He says, "Below me a small round blackish object." "That is the orb of the earth," she replies.

and purpose imagined by his critics. What the eagle does in the third book, as Rambeau admits, does not accord with Virgil's office in the *Divine Comedy*, and the plea of inconsistency will not hold in this case when no plan for any part of the poem has been discovered.

9. Here Rambeau speaks of the "milky way" passage of Chaucer and of the adventures of Daedalus and Icarus, but he attaches no special importance to the Dante allusions. The passage about Daedalus and Icarus may justify the following quotations—*Hous of Fame*, ii. 919 ff.:

> "Ne eek the wrecche Dedalus,
> Ne his child, nice Icarus,
> That fleigh so highe that the hete
> His winges malt, and he fel wete
> In-mid the see, and ther he dreynte,
> For whom was maked moch compleynte."

Rambeau quotes Dante, *Inf.* xvii. 109–113:

> "Nè quando Icaro misero le reni
> Sentì spennar per la scaldata cera,
> Gridando il padre a lui: 'Mala via tieni,'
> Che fu la mia, quando vidi ch'i era
> Nell' aer d'ogni parte . . ."

Holthausen, in *Anglia*, xvi. pp. 264–5, quotes from Theodolus, *Ecloga*, v. 101–103:

> "Daedalus aptatis liquidum secat aëre pennis;
> Filius insequitur: fragilis sed cera liquatur,
> Et cadit in pelagus, *gemuit sub pondere fluctus*."

Unlike Holthausen, I cannot see the importance attached to this last expression. Chaucer says, "For whom was maked moch compleynte." Prof. C. G. Child quotes Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione*, cap. xxxv. (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. x. p. 193):

> "Appresso vedi que'che con sottile
> Magisterio del padre uscì volando
> Del Laberinto, che tenendo vile
> Miseramente ciò, ch' ammaestrando
> Il padre gli avea detto, per volare
> Troppo alto, in giù le sue reti spennando
> Ora si cala, e appresso affogare
> Più là il vedi ne' salati liti."

A similarity in character and method, in style and general dimensions, says Mr. Child, is unmistakable. But is not Ovid sufficient? (*Met.* viii. 231–235):

"At pater infelix, nec jam pater, 'Icare,' dixit,
'Icare,' dixit, 'ubi es? qua te regione requiram?'
'Icare' dicebat. Pennas aspexit in undis.
Devovit que suas artes corpusque sepulcro
Condidit, et tellus a nomine dicta sepulti."

After all, we must give Chaucer credit for some individual conceptions, and for a chance "willkürlich" treatment of episodes which to him and other poets were as familiar as the conventional time for a dream of a love-poet.

10. Rambeau next refers to the long natural history discussions in the second book of the *Hous of Fame* and in Dante; to the prolixity of the discussions; to the fact that Dante and Chaucer were both students of scholastic philosophy. But as Professor Robinson, in his review of Chiarini's book, points out, there was plenty of versified science in the Middle Ages, outside of Dante, and the presence of like scientific and dogmatic discussions in two poems does not indicate any relation. Rambeau further quotes Dante's discussion of gravitation, of all things being assigned to certain places, and in connection with it what Chaucer has to say in the second book, ll. 729 ff. I will discuss the subject-matter of this section in Part III. chap. iv.

11. "Der Eis-felsen auf dessen Spitze Chaucer das Ziel seiner Luftreise den Palast oder das Haus des Ruhmes erblickt, ist in mancher hinsicht analog dem Berg der Reinigung auf dessen Gipfel Dante und Virgil das irdische Paradies finden. . . . Der Fels des *Hous of Fama* und der Berg der göttlichen Comoedie sind beide hoch und steil und schwer zu steigen." The remote possibility of any connection here will appear from the treatment of the "rock of ice" in Part III. chap. v. pp. 114 ff.

12. Rambeau sees some analogy between Chaucer's words in regard to the impossibility of describing the beauty of the House of Fame and Dante's confession or acknowledgment of the weakness of his poetic art to describe the wonders of heaven. This influence on Chaucer, he thinks, is the more probable, since the passage is near the invocation which Chaucer and Dante both used. This expression of inability to describe a beautiful place or a glorious queen, etc., is one of the most conventional commonplaces in mediæval love-poetry; and it is difficult to believe that Chaucer would be influenced by Dante in such a particular.

13. We come now to the various groups of people in Chaucer's

poem—the poets, minstrels, jugglers, and suppliants. Rambeau quotes Sandras, and accepts his statement: "Les groupes de poëtes, de ménestrels, de jongleurs, ainsi que les catégories de suppliants qui viennent demander oubli, célébrité, gloire solide, vaine réputation, sont imités de la hiérarchie qui règne dans le pays des âmes, tel qu'il s'est révélé à Dante." He further compares in his exposition the singers and players with the seven categories of souls which are distributed through the seven planet-regions (*Par.* II. and XXI.). There seems to me little analogy between these two groups of persons. Chaucer had in mind the general conception of a divinity on the throne, surrounded by her court, and dispensing justice. The mediæval poets were fond of giving lists of persons—poets, musicians, and the like. Chaucer merely, and this was much, makes his account more vivid and life-like in some particulars.

The feature of the many musicians and all kinds of music has many parallels in mediæval literature. Some examples follow:—

La Panthère d'Amours, ll. 155-164:

"Car j'oï si grant melodie
C' onques tele ne fu oïe
Et citoles et en vieles.
Oï faire notes nouveles;
Danses et sons poïtevinois
Oï en cors sarrazinois;
Tymbres y avoit et arainnes,
Psalterions, muses, douceines,
Chevretes, buisines, tabors
Dont moult me plaisoit li labors. . . ."

Thibaut, *Li Romanz de la Poire*, ll. 1119 ff. Love comes with his attendants to make war on the hero. There is music and dancing, ll. 1129:

"Et si i ot a grant planté
Estrumenz de divers mestiers,
Estives, harpes, et sautiers,
Vieles et gygues et rotes
Qui chantoient diverses notes.
Chascuns del mielz chanter s'agresse
Si n'i ot pas petit de presse
De boisines de chalemiax,
De cors, d'estives, de fretiax

Si vont si forment resonant
Que l'en n'i oïst Dieu tonant
Cil jongleur en lor vieles
Vont chantant cez chançons noveles.
L'uns saut, l'uns corne, l'autres estive ;
Chascuns tance, chascuns estrive
De son compagnon sormonter." [1]

Chaucer doubtless had in mind reminiscences of such lists of musical instruments and musicians (for one might collect many examples of references to musicians) in his account in the *Hous of Fame*. But a definite source is hardly conceivable. Just so with elements of this description of the sights of the palace. We may suggest possible influences, some of which appear at once reasonable, others highly unlikely. Of the latter sort is Rambeau's suggestion in regard to the pillars on which stand the twelve historians and poets. He thinks that the men correspond to the twenty-four doctors of the Christian Church in the fourth sphere of heaven. In regard to the pillars themselves, he says—"Die Pfeiler auf denen die Schriftsteller und Dichter des Hofes der Königin Fama stehen sind aus verschiedenen Metallen und Stoffen verfertigt oder sonst wie in ihrem Aussehen unterschieden; es wird dadurch der verschiedene Character ihrer Schriften ausgedrückt, gerade so wie die Planeten Mond, Mercur, Venus, Sonne, Mars, Jupiter, und Saturn, deren Regionen von den sieben Rangordnungen der seligen Geister in Dante's *Paradiso* bewohnt werden, die mannigfachen Grade der Seligkeit oder des Gnadenstandes derselben anzeigen. Vgl. *Parad.* iii. 82, 90." To this suggestion he adds that several of Chaucer's poets are represented by Dante as in Limbo.

Without venturing a complete explanation of these pillars with their famous men, I wish to present some material which

[1] For similar accounts see Machault, *La Remède de Fortune*, p. 87 ; *Roman de Brut*, ll. 10823 ff. ; *Squire of Lowe Degree*, ll. 1069 ff., ed. by W. E. Mead, Boston, 1904 : see note l. 1069, where he refers to lists of musical instruments ; *Rich. Cœur de Lion*, ed. Weber, ll. 3429–30, 4615–4619 ; *Kyng Alisaunder*, ed. Weber, ll. 1041–46 ; *Thomas of Erceldoune*, Thornton, ll. 257–260 ; *Libeaus Desconus*, ed. Kaluza, ll. 148–150 ; *Emaré*, ll. 388–390 ; Holland's *Boke of the Howlate*, ed. Diebler, ll. 755–767 ; *Octavian*, ll. 67 ff. ; *Guy of Warwick* (A.), st. 16, etc. ; cf. further *Le Roman de la Rose*, ll. 22009–22046 ; *Le Manekine*, ll. 2292 ff., vol. i. ; *Oeuvres Poétiques de Philippe de Remi*, ed. by Suchier, Paris, 1884, 2 vols. ; *Li Rommans de Cléomadés*, ll. 2878–94, ed. by A. Van Hasselt, Bruxelles, 1865–6, 2 vols. ; *Le Roman de Flamenca*, ll. 595 ff., ed. by P. Meyer, Paris, 1865 ; *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. Joly, vol. ii. ll. 14725 ff.

might possibly have aided Chaucer in his imaginative portrayal. In *Li Mireoirs as Dames*,[1] there is a Castle of Beauty. Inside are thirteen steps leading to the throne, the first guarded by Dame Nature and each of the other twelve by a lady representing a virtue. In Froissart's *Temple d'Onnour*, ll. 183 ff.,[2] there is a magnificent temple, inside which are seven steps, and on each step a man, Avis, Hardement, etc.; and on seven steps are seven ladies, Humility, Manière, etc. The Palace of the God of Love in *Li Fablel dou Dieu d'Amours* is supported by pillars representing the months. In the Chambre de l'Aubastrie in *Le Roman de Troie*, ll. 14609 ff., are two young men and two damsels on pillars—

> "Mès en la chanbre, ès quatre angliax,
> Ot quatre piliers lons et biax.
> L'un fu d'electre preciox,
> L'autre de jaspe merveillox,
> D'une oniche li tiers enprès,
> Et li quarz fu d'un gagarès."

The different materials of the pillars should be noticed.

The suggestion which follows, I feel, is worthy of consideration. Might not Chaucer have been much influenced by religious sculpture? Pillars on which stand human figures were very common. Some representations have a certain indefinite resemblance to Chaucer's picture of the goddess on her throne and the pillars leading down to the wide doors. I will give a few examples.

1. Goldene Pforte zu Freiburg, described thus by Karl Woermann:[3] "Dargestellt [on pillars] sind die Vorläufer Christi bis zu Johannes dem Täufer, der links an der Tür steht; auf ihn folgt Salomo, dann die Königin von Saba und ganz vorn die zierlich bewegte jugendliche Gestalt Daniels. Die Figuren der rechten Laibungsseite werden verschieden gedeutet. In der mitte des Bogenfeldes aber thront Maria als Himmelskönigin mit dem Kinde auf den Schoss."

2. Vorhalle der Wallfahrtskirche Santiago de Compostela.[4] Many pillars on which stand human figures.

"Die drei Westportale der Kathedrale von Chartres."[5]

[1] Watriquet de Couvin, *Dits*, ed. by Aug. Scheler, Brussels, 1868, pp. 1 ff.
[2] *Oeuvres*, vol. ii.
[3] *Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten u. Völker Zweiter Band*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 220, Plate, p. 221.
[4] *Ibid.* Plate, p. 197.
[5] *Ibid.* Plate opp. p. 190.

Pillars on either side of the entrances, on which stand apostles, angels, and other figures. These actual representations Chaucer may have not seen. The cathedrals in the southern part of England offer more definite evidence. We may consider, for instance, the following sculptures:—

Exeter Cathedral:[1] West Front—Plate before p. 145. The West Front of this cathedral is usually regarded as the work of Bishop Grandisson, who died in 1365. An exposition of the statues is given by C. R. Cockerell.[2] On the upper tier above the main doorway are the figures of Christ and the Virgin, on either side of whom are the apostles and prophets.[3]

Wells Cathedral:[4] The plate opposite the title-page of Cockerell's *Iconography*, with its groups of figures suggests a possible source of inspiration to such a poet as Chaucer. In the eighth tier on the West Front of Wells (usually regarded as the work of Bishop Jocelyne in 1239), the twelve apostles stand in statues of about eight feet high with their several distinctive symbols and costumes: 1. St. Peter (?), globe in hand and crown on head; 2. Matthew (?), holding his Gospel; 3. Thomas (?); 4. Simon the Canaanite, holding a sword; 5. James, son of Zebedee (?); 6. St. John, holding Chalice; 7. Andrew, designated by his cross; 8. Philip; 9. Bartholomew, with flaying knife and his own skin; 10. James, son of Alphaeus, with club; 11. Thaddeus (?); 12. Matthias. On the ninth tier are three niches from which the statues (except the feet of the Saviour in the centre) have been removed by the iconoclasts. These doubtless contained the Christ sitting in judgment, the Virgin and John the Baptist on either side.

Rochester Cathedral:[5] The West Front with the exception of the great perpendicular window, belongs to the Norman period (1077-1130). . Central Doorway on title-page; description on pp. 498–9. "The doorway is formed of five receding arches with banded shafts at the angles, two of which are carved into figures which probably represent Henry I. and the good queen 'Molde.'

[1] *Handbook to the Cathedrals of England*, Parts I. and II., London, 1861, Part I.

[2] *Iconography of the West Front of Wells Cathedral*, Oxford and London, 1851, opp. p. 28, Appendix B.

[3] For a different explanation see *Handbook*, Part I. pp. 150–152.

[4] *Handbook*, Part I. pp. 215 ff. See Frontispiece before p. 215. *Iconography:* see plate opposite title-page.

[5] *Handbook*, Part II. pp. 495 ff.

. . . In the tympanum is the Saviour within an elongated aureole supported by two angels, and with the emblems of the four evangelists at the sides. Below are small figures of the apostles, few of which are entire." Cf. also Salisbury Cathedral (*Handbook*, I. pp. 65 ff.), completed in 1258, and Canterbury Cathedral (*Handbook*, Part II. pp. 339 ff.).

A source for the men on the pillars seems out of the question. Chaucer didn't need, as Rambeau suggests, to go to Dante for the names of his poets. Koeppel[1] quotes the *Amorosa Visione*, where Boccaccio mentions these poets and comments on their work,—a much more likely source for Chaucer, if we must look for any source whatever.

H. of F. l. 1483; Virgil—*Am. Vis.* V. 7–8:

> "Virgilio mantovan infra costoro
> Conobb' io quivi più ch'altro esaltato."

Ll. 13–16:

> "Il ruinar ed i Troia di suoi mali,
> Di Dido, e di Cartagine e d'Enea,
> Lavorar terre e pascere animali,
> Trattar negli atti suoi ancor parea."

H. of F. l. 1499; Lucan—*Am. Vis.* V. 19 ff.:

> "A' quai Lucan sequitava, ne' cui,
> Alti parea ch' ancora la battaglia
> Di Cesare narrasse e di colui
> Magno Pompeo chiamato . . ."

H. of F. l. 1486; Ovid—*Am. Vis.* V. 25 ff.:

> "Eravi Ovidio, lo quale portando
> Iscrisse tanti versi per amore
> Come acquistar si potesse mostrando."

H. of F. l. 1460; Stace—*Am. Vis.* V. 34:

> "E Stazio di Tolosa, ancora caro
> Quivi pareva avesse l'aver detto
> Del teban male e del suo pianto amaro."

Boccaccio also mentions *Omero* (V. 17) and *Claudiano* (V. 50).

Now, following his theory that the court of the goddess of Fame corresponds to the hierarchy of the Dantean paradise, Rambeau suggests a certain analogy between the Virgin Mary, the queen of heaven, and the goddess of Fame. The absurdity of such an analogy has been forcibly expressed by Mr. Garrett in a

[1] *Anglia*, xiv. p. 237.

foot-note to his discussion of the interpretation of the poem.[1] As ten Brink first pointed out, the foundation idea for the goddess of Fame, that is, for her personal appearance, is due to the *Æneid*, iv. 170 ff.[2] Rambeau's quotations to show that Chaucer may have been influenced also by Dante are not at all convincing. He is reminded, among other things, of Lucifer (*Inf.* xxxiv. 28 ff.), who is of monstrous size, whose head has three faces and six eyes, and who has a pair of wings under each face. The appearance of the mysterious griffin is also used by Rambeau in his assembling of parallelisms to Chaucer's description of the goddess. But, having the well-known figure of the goddess of Fortune in mind, Chaucer would scarcely go to Dante for this trait which the griffin has of changing continually. Rambeau further thinks that the golden limbs of the Griffin of *Purg.* xxix. (112–144) remind one a little of the golden hair of the goddess (*H. of F.* 1386–87).[3]

"Diese Annahme," continues Rambeau, "gewinnt dadurch an Wahrsheinlichkeit, dass die vier mystichen Thiere der Apocalypse die Chaucer an derselben Stelle des dritten Buches erwähnt von Dante in den Versen, die der schilderung des Greifes vorausgehen genau beschrieben werden (*Purg.* xxix. 92, 94–96, 100, 103–105)—

'Vennero appresso lor quattro animali, . . .
Ognuno era pennuto di sei ali,
Le penne piene d'occhi ; e gli occhi d'Argo,
Se fosser vivi, sarebber cotali . . .
Ma legge Ezechiel che il dipigne . . .
E quali i troverai nelle sue carte,
Tali eran quivi, salvo ch'alle penne
Giovanni è meco e da lui si diparte.'

H. of F. iii. 1381 ff. :

'For as fele eyen hadde she
As fetheres upon foules be,

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[1] P. 173, n 3.—Mr. Garrett's suggestion that the goddess Fama is the witch of the castle in folk-tales approaches the absurdity of the suggestion criticized.

[2] An old instance of this change in feature which the goddess of Fame undergoes occurs in the *Iliad*, IV. 439–44. Description of Ἔρις. Boethius describes Philosophy thus (Lib. I. Prosa i. p. 2) :

"Statura discretionis ambiguae. Nam nunc quidem ad communem sese hominum mensuram cohibebat, nunc vero pulsare caelum summi verticis cacumine videbatur : quae cum altius caput extulisset, ipsum etiam caelum penetrebat respicientiumque hominum frustrabatur intuitum."

[3] Cf. Koeppel's quotation from the *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 21399–400 :

"Et voit ses biaus crins blondoians
Comme undes ensemble ondoians."

> Or weren on the bestes foure,
> That Goddes trone gunne honoure,
> As John writ in thapocalips.'"

This is an interesting comparison. Chaucer may, however, very well have taken this idea direct from Rev. iv. 6 ff. It is impossible to say what part Dante's description played here.[1]

Rambeau finally refers to the petitioners to the goddess. He is reminded of the plan which prevails not only in Dante's *Paradiso*, but also in the whole poem. I do not care either to accept or deny some influence in this particular from the *Divine Comedy*. More than once, it must be admitted, there occur throughout Chaucer's description of the groups of suppliants and the awards reminiscences of Dante's groupings and classifications. Granting the primary influence of the love divinities and their courts,[2] we may look for ancillary and modifying influence from other sources. Of these probably the most likely is the visions of hell and heaven, of which the *Divine Comedy* is the culmination. Some of the extracts which follow remind us of the companies in the *Hous of Fame* and the distribution of awards.

The *Vision of Thurcill.*[3]

Thurcill goes to a hall where St. Michael with Peter and Paul deals out justice. The Devil and St. Paul sat at either end of the scales for weighing dead souls, which were sent either to purgatory or into a fiery pit. When the scale turned to the saint, St. Paul sent the soul into purgatory. When the other scale was heavier, the Devil and his attendants with a malicious grin threw the soul into a fiery pit.

Vision of St. Paul.[4]

Paul, led by an angel, sees the joys and punishments of the future. Horrible angels lead souls to hell; beautiful angels conduct the just to their rest. A pious soul comes first, then a sinner, then one who denies his guilt. . . He sees the dwelling-place of the blessed and the place of the condemned, heaven, the throne, and people kneeling before it, crying, "Have pity on us!"

[1] For a further discussion of the appearance of the goddess, see Part III. chap. v. pp. 107 ff.
[2] See Part III. chap. v. pp. 128 ff.
[3] See E. J. Becker, *Med. Visions of Heaven and Hell*, p. 97.
[4] See Mid. Eng. poems in Morris, *Old Eng. Miscellany*, App. iii. pp. 223 ff.

An interesting parallel in many respects to the situation in the *Hous of Fame* is found in Guillaume de Guileville's[1] *Le premier pelerinage de l'homme durant quest en vie.*

The author has a marvellous vision (1330). He sees the city of Jerusalem in a mirror. There is a high wall about the city and the entry is difficult. He sees a beautiful lady; she seemed to be the daughter to an emperor or to a king or to some great lord. She has on a rochet beaten with gold and is girt with a green tissue that is . . . all along arrayed with carbuncles. On her breast she has a brooch of gold, and in the midst thereof there is an amelle, and in the midst thereof a star, whereof he has great wonder. Her head is crowned with gold and all about environed with a great number of shining stars. Grace Dieu takes him into her house. It hangs on high in the air and is between heaven and earth . . . . Inside the house, a great company of folk come before Moses, and make request that he shall give them some service in his house (cap. xvii. and xviii.). Some he makes princes of his house and chamberlains. And others he made sergeants to arrest and put out the enemies that be in their bodies. To others he does great worship . . . (cap. xxi.).

14. Rambeau now comes to the house of rumour or tidings. He admits the overwhelming influence of Ovid (*Met.* xii. 39–63), but is of the opinion that Chaucer was influenced by *Paradiso* xxviii. Three characteristics of the house of tydings—the great extent, the quickness of the movement, and the great numbers of the people—may be due, he says, to *Paradiso*, xxviii., 53–4, 16–36, 92–93; and there is an agreement between Chaucer's words (*H. of F.* iii. 1996, 1914–16, and 2024–2030) and *Inf.* iii. 36, 38–39, and 52–57. None of these resemblances, unless we accept Rambeau's theories in general, have any special significance. For a full discussion of the house of tidings, see Part III. chap. v. pp. 138 ff.

15. In this last section, Rambeau comments on various lines and short passages where Chaucer may have been influenced by Dante. It is hardly necessary for us to enter into these at all, as I do not attempt a line-for-line study of the poem. Besides, even if we were to admit the influence of Dante in some or all of

[1] *Le Romant des Trois Pelerinaiges*, not dated. Harv. Coll. Library, 7596. 2. English translation, Roxburghe Club Pub. 91, Lond. 1869.

the instances, we should have practically the same feeling in regard to the debt which the *Hous of Fame* as a whole owes to the *Divine Comedy.*

Rambeau's words, in conclusion, may finally engage our attention. "In unserer Untersuchung glauben wir den Einfluss von Dante's *Divina Commedia* auf Chaucer's *Hous of Fame* nicht bloss in dem allgemeinen Gedankengang und der Anlage dieses Gedichts sondern auch in vielen einzelnen Punkten zur Genuge dargelegt zu haben." He attaches too much importance to these single points, so few of which may be ascribed definitely to Dante. In his study of the question, he seems to have had in mind generally only these two poems. If he finds in the *Hous of Fame* a passage similar to one in the *Divine Comedy,* he straightway ascribes this identity to the influence of Dante on Chaucer. This method of approach, as has been shown, is manifestly incomplete. Chaucer's "authors" and his "books" were many, and in order to determine the influences which were active on one of his poems, we must look farther than to any one "author," however closely some book of the writer may resemble the poem under consideration.

The interpretation of the poem is inevitably connected with any consideration of the "allgemeinen Gedankengang und der Anlage" of the poem, and I cannot enter into this here. It will be treated at length in Part IV. of these Studies.

After this somewhat detailed consideration of suggested resemblances between the *Divine Comedy* and the *Hous of Fame,* emphasizing, as implied at the outset, the dubious nature of much of the evidence presented by Rambeau and others, the reader will doubtless look for some positive statement in regard to the extent of the influence which Dante exerted on Chaucer in this dream-poem. Rambeau's opinion, in the light of the present discussion, is almost entirely to be discountenanced. Lounsbury's exact summary is misleading, and adds little to our understanding of the subject. Chiarini, who, as Professor Robinson thinks, takes a middle ground between Rambeau and Lounsbury, is yet too strongly biased toward the Italian side, especially in the tendency, mainly due to the personal nature of Dante's work, to ascribe much allegorical and autobiographical significance to the portrayal of Chaucer's dream. Is it possible, one may now ask, to define satisfactorily the influence which this one poem of

Dante's exerted on the composite production of the English poet?

Leaving out of consideration any relation between the two poems in respect to the literary form, the subject-matter in general, and the significance—we may yet look for influence from the *Divine Comedy* under two headings: 1. details of poetic material and expression; 2. the artistic feeling which determined the excellence of the poem. Under the first heading, much more is comprised than Lounsbury's twenty lines. The fact seems to me almost incontrovertible, even in the face of the many objections urged in the present discussion, that Chaucer's poetic material and expression were rather largely modified by the hints and suggestions which he received from his readings in Dante. This is at once evident from the great number of resemblances which critics have thought they have found between the two poems. Many of them, as we have seen, are not necessarily indicative of any interrelation, and others are but vague reminiscences; but the mere fact that two artistic poems agree in so many particulars—and here I do not refer to the assumed agreements of literary form, subject-matter in general, and significance, but only to details of material and expression—is assurance that some not insignificant connection must exist between them. At the risk of speaking by way of paradox, I may refer once more to the objections raised against the influence of Dante in many particulars, and at the same time express my firm conviction that in more than one instance Chaucer was materially, though perhaps to the eye of the modern critic often dimly, assisted by his reminiscences or present reading of the *Divine Comedy*. One example only—the clearest to me—must suffice. Chaucer's companies of suppliants before the goddess are primarily dependent upon the general notion of the court of the god and goddess of Love. Yet, the fundamental idea has been modified in the poet's mind by his knowledge of similar situations, and most obviously, if one may judge from reminiscences of poetic expression, from the *Divine Comedy* itself. A marked stimulating and contributory influence throughout in details of expression and material is unmistakable.

As to the influence of Dante on the artistic feeling of the poet, I speak, though with hesitancy of expression, with equal conviction. But where is the influence to be discerned? some one may

ask, and ask rightly. Not where one may place one's finger, and say definitely, "Here I feel the Dantean touch." The presence of such an influence is only to be discerned, if at all, by a study of the poem with respect to its progenitors and to the poet's other imaginative portrayals. What is there, one may ask, in the poems composed after Chaucer's acquaintance with Italian life and literature which distinguishes them most characteristically from his early work? Not vitally the subject-matter, surely. The *Parlement* might, as far as the subject-matter is concerned, have been composed in 1369. Not the form, either, of his poems. The vision-poem was an inheritance from his French models. And, finally, not the ideas of life and human conduct which characterize his work.

What Chaucer got most vitally, and what shows itself most permeatingly in his later work, was a deeper sense of artistic effort, a finer feeling for literary effectiveness, and a broader grasp of the elements of great poetic expression. He was no longer mainly adaptive; he was assimilative and formative. And these qualities came first of all from Dante. Stories he might have had from any one; literary devices might have come from chance sources; but the determining influence on his artistic nature leading to greater depth and largeness of poetic expression, came from the master, Dante. This is, I feel, the most vital impression made on the *Hous of Fame* by the *Divine Comedy*. To understand the new influence that has come over the mind of Chaucer, it is sufficient to look back at the *Duchesse*, and compare these two poems with the body of Old French love-visions which exercised so lasting an influence on Chaucer's literary tastes. Then, and only then, can one approach a proper appreciation of the relation of the *Hous of Fame* to the *Divine Comedy*.

PART III

CHAPTER I

Chaucer's Reflections about Dreams.

The presence of the characteristic discussion of dreams at the opening of Chaucer's wonderful dream may be looked upon as showing the poet's thorough assimilation, or appropriation even, of many of the less important elements of the Old French love-visions. Most closely resembling Chaucer's discussion, in manner if not in subject-matter, is the opinion on dreams which Guillaume de Lorris expresses at the beginning of the *Roman de la Rose*.[1] Whatever other people may say in regard to the truth or falsity of dreams, he believes that they are the significance to men of good or ill; for the dream which came to him five years ago has had its fulfilment. The author of *La Panthère d'Amours*[2] begins his vision by saying that he has heard from his infancy that "songe sont bien demonstrance . . . de verité," and it is for this reason that he tells his story.[3]

The subject-matter of Chaucer's account is, however, clearly not due to these authors. Ten Brink,[4] who is followed by Skeat,[5] believes that these reflections are due to Macrobius, and says that Chaucer almost wholly recapitulates the essential contents of Macrobius' third chapter. The only point of contact between the commentary and Chaucer is the enumeration of the various kinds of dreams. Chaucer may have had Macrobius in mind;

[1] *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 1 ff.

[2] ll. 41 ff.

[3] Cf. also Raoul de Houdan, *Le Songe d'Enfer* (*Mystères inédits*); ed. by A. Jubinal, 2 vols., Paris, 1837, vol. ii. notes, pp. 384 ff.

> "En songes doit fables avoir
> Se songes puet devenir voir
> Dont sai-je bien que il m'avint
> Qu'en songant .l. songe me vint
> Talent que pèlerins seroie."

Cf. also *La Clef d'Amour* (ed. by H. Michelant, Lyon, 1866), ll. 129 ff., where the author, upon awakening, is in doubt with respect to his dream, but two reasons convince him that it is true.

[4] *Studien*, p. 101.

[5] *Minor Poems*, 2nd ed. 1896, p. 325. Notes to ll. 7 and 18.

but there were too many just such remarks on dreams to justify the critic in attaching the responsibility for Chaucer's statement on any particular author. John of Salisbury, in his *Polycraticus*,[1] has much to say concerning the kinds, causes, figures and signification of dreams. In cap. xv. he says, "Sunt autem multae species somniorum, et multiplices causae et variae figurae, et significationes. Aut enim insomnium, aut phantasma, aut somnium, aut oraculum, aut visio est. Porro insomnia ex ebrietate, vel crapula, aut variis passionibus corporis affectuumque tumultibus, et reliquis cogitationum frequentissime oriuntur. Unde et male sanis amantium mentibus insomnia nunquam desunt, etc." [2]

A second author who is thought to have been of assistance to Chaucer is Robert Holkot, who in his *Liber Sapientiae*,[3] presents a long discussion of dreams. The parallelisms which Miss Petersen offers,[4] though, as will appear below, not absolutely convincing, are yet deserving of consideration, if only by reason of the certain use of Holcot by Chaucer in other poems where he has something to say about dreams. The clearest parallelism to Chaucer both in subject-matter and phraseology is to be found in Jean de Meung.[5] For convenience of comparison I have placed in parallel columns the words of Chaucer and the suggested sources.

Hous of Fame.

God turne us every dreem to gode!
For hit is wonder, by the rode,
To my wit, what causeth swevenes
Either on morwes, or on evenes;
And why theffect folweth of somme,
And of somme hit shal never come;
Why that is an avisioun,
Why this, a revelacioun,
Why this a dreem, why that a sweven,
And not to every man liche even;

6. Macrobius, c. 3; ten Brink and Skeat. Kinds of dreams: somnium visio, oraculum, insomnium, and visum. Fourth kind also *fantasma*, and this gave Chaucer *fantome*.

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 199, Lib. II. cap. xv–xvii.
[2] Cf. also Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Naturale*, Lib. 27, cap. 62.
[3] Ed. by Ryter, Basel, 1586.
[4] Kate O. Petersen, *The Sources of the Nonne Preestes Tale* (Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 10), Boston, 1898, pp. 105–6.
[5] Other close parallelisms may of course turn up at any time. Professor Carleton Brown informs me that he has discovered a very interesting resemblance to Chaucer's lines in Bartholomeus Anglicus *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, Lib. VI. chap. xxvii. *de Somno*.

Why this a fantome, these oracles,

Roman de la Rose, ll. 19442–3:
"Ou se Diex par tex visions
Envoie révélacions."

11. l. 19359:
"Par les fantosmes qu'il reçoit."

I noot: but who-so of these miracles
The causes knoweth bet than I,
Devyne he; for I certeynly
Ne can hem noght, ne never thinke
To besily my wit to swinke,

12. *Robert of Brunne*, ll. 462 ff.[1]:
"Þan ys doute and grete were
To wyte where-of dremys come
. . . . . .
Þer beyn so many dremys yn veyne,
Þat no man wote no certeyn
But þey þat beyn wiþ God pryve."

To know of her signifiaunce

17. *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 19432 ff. The author doesn't care to speak of dreams:
"Porquoi li uns sunt plus orribles
Plus bel li autre et plus paisible,
Selonc lor appariciones
En diverses complexions
Et selonc les divers corages
Des mors divers et des aâges."

The gendres, neither the distaunce
Of tymes of hem, ne the causes
For-why this more then that cause is;

18. Macrobius: Skeat. He divides *somnium* into five species: proprium, alienum, commune, publicum, generale.

As if folkes complexiouns
Make hem dreme of reflexiouns
Or elles thus, as others sayn,
For to great feblesse of her brayn,

21. Holkot, *Lectio* 103: Petersen: "Quando aliquis humor dominatur in homine, sicut Flegma, Melancolia, vel Colera, contingit. . . . Fantasiam ibi formare consimilia idola concordantia cum illo: . . ."

By abstinence, or by seknesse,
Prison, stewe, or gret distresse;
Or elles by disordinaunce
Of naturel acustomaunce

25. *Robert of Brunne*, l. 392:
"For over mychyl and grete fastyng."

25. *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 19263 ff.:
"Quant aucuns sunt prist et tenu
Par aucune grant maladie
. . . . . .
Qui mainte fois, sens ordenance
Par naturel acoustumance
De trop penser sunt curieus
Quant trop sunt mélencolieus
Ou paoreus outre mesure."

That sóm man is to curious
In studie, or melancolious,
Or thus, so inly ful of drede
That no man may him bote bede;
Or elles that devocioun

33. ll. 19292–3:
"Cil qui part grant devocion
En trop grant contemplacion."

Of somme and contemplacioun
Causeth swiche dremes ofte;

[1] *Handlyng Synne*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, Lond. 1901, Part I. p. 17.

Or that the cruel lyf unsofte
Which these like lovers leden

That hopen over muche or dreden,
That purely her impressiouns
Causeth hem avisiouns;
Or if that spirits have the might
To make folk to dreme anight;
Or if the soule, of propre kynde
Be so parfit, as men fynde,
That hit forwot that is to come,
And that hit warneth all and somme
Of everich of her aventures
By avisions, or by figures,
But that our flesh ne hath no might
To understonden it aright,
For hit is warned to derkly;
But what the cause is, noght wot I.
Wel worthe, of this thing, grete clerkes,
That treat of this and other werkes;
For I of noon opinioun
Nil as now make mencioun,
But only that the holy rode
Turne us every dreem to gode!

36. ll. 19330 ff.:
"Car cil qui fins amans se clament
Quant d'amors ardemment s'entr'ament
Dont moult ont travaus et anuis."

36. Holkot, *Lectio* 103: Petersen: "Amantes de notis suis certius somniant."

38. Macrobius, c. 3. "Animi si amator deliciis suis aut fruentem se videat aut carentem. . . ."

41. Holcot, *Lectio* 102: Petersen. "Nam corpora supercelestia influendo virtutem nostris corporibus alterant corpora in somnia et tunc contingit Fantasiam sibi formare species et idola conformia qualitatibus in corpore causatis; et sic apparent anime alique effectus futuri, sicut de bellis et fertilitate et sterilate terre et hujusmodi."

These quotations from some of his "authors" do not go very far towards accounting for Chaucer's own reflections on dreams in the *Hous of Fame*. They do show, to a certain extent, the sort of material with which he was certainly acquainted. He knew not only actual dreams or visions of past times, but also the many discussions as to the causes, nature, and significance of dreams which abound in mediæval and earlier works. Such discussions would inevitably be reflected in his own meditations. And we may hazard a guess as to the most likely source for some particular reference which he may make in the course of his musings. Indeed, in some instances, as, for example, in respect to the resemblance to Jean de Meung's discussion, our inference is supported by fairly satisfactory evidence. But, after all, we find that the characteristic part of Chaucer's dis-

cussion—and this is what we are most interested in—is something peculiarly individual. It is the feeling of astonishment and wonder which the poet has in regard to dreams, and his confession of ignorance as to their causes and significance. He is content to leave the discussion of dreams to "grete clerkes," only praying that God may turn to good every dream, and especially, of course, this wonderful dream which came to him as a servant of Love.[1]

CHAPTER II.

The Invocations.

The source of the *idea* of the invocations in the *Hous of Fame* is not easily determined. As I have indicated before,[2] the invocation is not an essential part of the love-vision structure. That it is not however at variance with the love-vision tradition which came down to Chaucer is proved by the presence in Froissart's poem of invocations to Morpheus. And when we find that the inspiration for Chaucer's first invocation certainly came from Froissart (possibly directly from the *Tresor Amoureuse*) we cannot disregard entirely the influence of the love-vision in this matter of Chaucer's invocations.

An entirely different source has been advocated by A. Rambeau (Sec. 2), who presents Chaucer's use of the invocation as one of the points of similarity between the *Hous of Fame* and the *Divine Comedy*. "Chaucer beginnt planmässig," he says, "jedes seiner

[1] For other remarks by Chaucer on dreams see the *Nonnes Preestes Tale*, B 4111 ff., and *Troilus* V. ll. 358–385. With the latter of these discussions should be compared Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, 32. The sources of these passages have been investigated by Miss Petersen (see *ante*). I may add here various references on the matter of dreams. M. Lantin de Damerey, in a note on l. 7, *Roman de la Rose*, ed. Meon, vol. i. pp. 2, 3, refers to Macrobius, Lib. I. cap. iii. ver. 7; to Petronius, *Arbitri Satyricon;* to Pharaoh, *Genesis*, cap. 41; to Joseph, *Genesis*, cap. 37; to Homer, *Odyssey*, Liv. 19; to Virgil, *Æneidos*, Lib. VI. *sub fine;* to Horace, Ode 27, Lib. III.; to Propertius, *Eleg.* VII. Lib. IV. To this list may be subjoined the following discussions: Artemidorus, *Oniroeriticon, Libri V.* ex recensione Rudolphi Hercheri, Lipsiae, 1864; Tibullus, Liber III., Elegia IV., Omnia Opera, Paris, 1826; Gregory, *Dialogues*, IV. cap. 48, Migne, vol. 77–3; Caesarius, *Dialogues*, Book VIII. *De Diversis Visionibus*, cap. 1; *Illus. Mirac. et Hist. Mem.* 1599; John of Salisbury *op. cit.*; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Naturale*, Book 27, chaps. 32–111 (a treatise with acknowledgment to various authors); Robert of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne* (Roxburghe Club, Lond. 1862; E. E. Text Soc. 1901–3); Giraldus Cambrensis, *Conquest of Ireland*, XLI. *De Visionibus* in *Opera*, vol. v. Lond. 1867 (Rolls Series); Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum*, I. vii. *De Somniis;* Aristotle, *De Anima et Parva Naturalia*—On Dreams, on Prophecy in Sleep (Trans. by W. A. Hammond, Lond. pp. 231–255).

[2] Part I. p. 18.

drei Bücher mit einer Anredung gerade so wie Dante (*Inf.* II., *Purg.* I., *Par.* I.), und wie bereits oben bemerkt, hat er am Anfang des zweiten und dritten Buches zwei von Dante's Anrufungen (*Inf.* II., *Par.* I.) genau nachgeahmt." [1] The latter part of the statement may be considered first.[2] Chaucer's second invocation owes something doubtless to the brief invocation in the *Inferno*, II. 7–9, but it is, as may be seen from the following quotations, far from being an imitation of the Italian. Chaucer invokes Venus, the Muses, and Thought; Dante, the Muse, the lofty genius, and Thought. The third invocation is directly inspired by Dante's invocation in the first book of the *Paradiso*, ll. 13–27.

Hous of Fame, II. ll. 518–528.

Now faire blisful, O Cipris,
So be my favour at this tyme!
And ye, me to endyte and ryme
Helpeth, that on Parnaso dwelle
By Elicon the clere welle.
O Thought, that wroot all that I mette,
And in the tresorie hit shette
Of my brayn! now shal men see
If any vertu in thee be
To tellen al my dreem aright;
Now kythe thyn engyne and might!"

Dante, *Inf.* II. 7–9. *La Teseide*, I. 3, and I. 1.[3]

E tu, Madre d'Amor col tuo giocondo
E lieto aspetto . . .
O Muse, o alto ingegno, or m'aiutate
O Sorelle Castalie, che nel monte,
Elicona contente dimorate
D'intorno al sacro gorgoneo fonte
. . . . . .
Le sante orecchie a'miei preghi porgete
O Mente che scrivesti ciò ch'io vidi

Qui si parrà la tua nobilitate

Cf. also *Amor. Vis.* cap. ii.

O somma e graziosa intelligenza,
Che muovi il terzo cielo, o santa Dea,
. . . . . .
Non sufferir che fugga, o Citerea
A me l'ingegno all'opera presente,
. . . . . .
Venga il tuo valor nella mia mente.

Hous of Fame, III. 1091–1109.

O God of science and of light,
Apollo, through thy grete might,
This litel laste book thou gye!
Nat that I wilne, for maistrye,
Here arte poetical be shewed;
But, for the rym is light and lewed,
Yit make hit sumwhat agreable,
Though som vers faile in a sillable;
And that I do no diligence

Dante, *Parad.* I. 13–27.

O buono Apollo, all'ultimo lavoro
Fammi del tuo valor sì fatto vaso
Come domandi a dar l'amato alloro.
. . . . . .

[1] See Sandras, pp. 122 ff.; ten Brink, *Studien*, pp. 90 and 93.
[2] See F. J. Palgrave, *Academy*, 1889, 1(887), 305–306.
[3] The lines from Boccaccio are printed in italics.

To shewe craft, but o sentence.	
And if, divyne vertu, thou	O divina virtù, se mi ti presti
Wilt helpe me to shewe now	Tanto che l'ombra del beato regno
That in myn hede y-marked is—	Segnata nel mio capo io manifesti
Lo, that is for to menen this,	
The Hous of Fame for to descryve—	
Thou shalt se me go, as blyve,	Venir vedra' mi al tuo diletto legno
Unto the nexte laure I see	E coronarmi allor di quelle foglie
And kisse hit, for hit is thy tree;	Che la materia e tu mi farai degno.
Now entreth in my breste anoon!	Entra nel petto mio . . . l. 19.

We may grant, then, a marked resemblance between the subject-matter of Chaucer's second and third invocations and those of Dante in the *Inferno* and *Paradiso*. But this resemblance does not prove the former part of Rambeau's statement—that Chaucer's use of the invocations at the beginning of each book is an imitation of Dante. It would be hazardous, indeed, to say that Chaucer is indebted to Dante for the suggestion of the invocation. Yet, without this assumption, the theory of imitation loses any force which it might have. For the mere presence of an invocation at the beginning of each book is of little moment. The idea of using an invocation at the opening of a poem or of some part of a literary composition was a commonplace. We may compare Froissart, *Li Orloge Amoureuse*, ll. 86–89; Boccaccio's *Teseide*, I. 1 and 3, his *Amorosa Visione*, II., his *Filostrato*, I. and III., his *Ninfale Fiesolano*, Parte Prime, IV. (prayer to lovers); Parte Terza, XXXIV. (Invocation to Venus); Parte Quarta, XXV.; the invocation to *Amors* in *Floriant et Florete*, ll. 25 ff.[1]; *Architrenius*, p. 246; *Boethius*, III., Metrum, 9; Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpina*, I. (it will be noted that this work is divided into three books); and his *In Rufinum*, Liber II., and *Anti-Claudianus*, V. cap. v. p. 356.[2]

Chaucer feels the necessity of an invocation for each book of his poem, and he takes for his purpose the most fitting material that he can find. For his first invocation he goes to Froissart,[3] for the second partly, and the third largely, to Dante. It is not possible to speak with certainty on the question of the source of the primary suggestion. In the face of the address to Morpheus, which may be accepted as a result of the advice of the god of Love to the author of *Tresor Amoreux*, we cannot easily admit the determining influence of the invocations of the *Divine Comedy*.

[1] Ed. by F. Michel, Edin. 1873 (Roxburghe Club).
[2] I have not thought it necessary to go back to the Classics for examples.
[3] See p. 18.

CHAPTER III

The Temple of Venus.

CHAUCER'S first experience in his dream in the *Hous of Fame* is somewhat similar to that in the *Duchesse*. In the earlier poem he dreams that his chamber is "wel depeynted," the windows with the story of Troy, the walls with the Romance of the Rose. In his second vision he is in the temple of Venus, upon the walls of which is graven the story of Æneas. The chief significance of this temple for Chaucer is that it is a building devoted to the worship of Love. It offers a happy medium through which he may tell the story of Æneas and Dido. He is here little concerned, as it seems, with the description of the temple. From his brief account of the images and the portraiture and from his own statement later (l. 413) we know that this building is of the nature of a shrine or chapel, devoted to the worship of Venus. It has no connection with the actual residence of the goddess.

Such temples or shrines do not, I believe, exist in the old French love-visions to which Chaucer owes so many of the conceptions of the dream-poems. The mediæval love-poet,[1] as a rule, felt no necessity for the introduction of a shrine at which his divinity might be worshipped. Venus, as goddess of Love, was not a divinity whose home was far away, and who could only be prayed to at an altar erected by her devotees. The realm of love was here on earth, and Venus, in the poet's imagination, could be prayed to in person. Humanity—at least, that part of humanity represented by the great world of lovers—was in close touch with divinity. Hence, when Venus is to be worshipped, she appears in her palace seated on her throne or in the garden consecrated to Love.

Chaucer's departure from the traditions of the love-vision is easily explained. In the first place, as I have suggested above, his main interest in introducing the temple, if we may neglect for the moment the feeling that Chaucer must have had of the appropriateness in a love-vision of a building consecrated to the worship of Venus, was in obtaining a suitable setting for the story of Æneas and Dido. Another reason for his variation from his models was the fact that he had yet to portray a goddess in

[1] I refer to such men as Froissart, Machault, and Deschamps.

her dwelling—the goddess Fama in her house to which all sounds ascend. And finally, the setting of his poem, which was determined by the situation of the palace of Fame, would almost force Chaucer to describe the chapel of the goddess of Love, rather than the palace, which according to the requirements of the love-vision should be on earth in a garden full of flowers and singing birds.

Such an explanation as the above may account for the presence in the *Hous of Fame* of this temple or church of Venus; it does not, of course, indicate its actual source and characteristic elements, a problem which may now be briefly considered. The temple of Venus in our poem connects itself naturally with a similar temple in the *Knight's Tale*. In function, these temples are entirely alike—they are both chapels in which the goddess of Love may be worshipped. In their appearance they resemble each other, in that in each the goddess is represented in the same attitude, and scenes of love are painted on the walls. The painting in the *Knight's Tale* is much more elaborate. No source has been found for this temple in the *Knight's Tale;* and it seeems highly improbable that any model will be discovered for the temple of Venus in the *Hous of Fame*. The idea of a temple or shrine is too general to be attached to a particular author, unless his actual working-out of the idea should correspond pretty definitely to the portrayal in question.

The temple in the *Hous of Fame*, like that in the *Knight's Tale*, is a composite picture; and, as in the latter case, an attempt may be made to explain the detailed elements of the description. The foundation of Chaucer's story of Æneas comes directly from his favourite author, Virgil. For the important part of the representation of Venus and her son Cupid, Professor Lounsbury[1] thinks that Chaucer went to Albricus Philosophus' *De Deorum Imaginibus*. Chaucer's description corresponds closely, if one wishes to assume an influence by virtue of the correspondence, to some of the details of the account by Albricus. But Chaucer was certainly not dependent upon Albricus alone for these stock attributes of the goddess. For Chaucer's description here in the *Hous of Fame*, as well as in the *Knight's Tale*, contains details not found in Albricus; and the account which occurs in the *De Deorum Imaginibus* includes certain features which we should

[1] *Studies in Chaucer*, vol. ii. pp. 381–2.

expect to find reproduced in Chaucer if he had definitely in mind this one author. His description should be compared with the account by Albricus, which I quote here:[1]

"Venus quintum tenet inter planetas locum: propter quod quinto loco figurabatur. Pingebatur Venus pulcherrima puella, nuda, atque in mari natans: atque in manu sua dextra concham marinam tenens atque gestans; rosisque candidus atque rubris fertum gerebat in capite ornatum, atque columbis circa se volando, comitabatur. Vulcano deo ignis, rustico turpissimo, in conjugium erat consignata, qui stabat ad ejus dextram. Et coram ipsa tres adstabant juvenculae nudae, quae tres Gratiae dicebantur, ex quibus duram facies versus nos adversae erant, tertia vero dorsum in contrarium vertebat. Hinc atque Cupido filius suus alatus atque caecus adsistebat, qui sagitta atque arcu, quos tenebat, Apollinem sagittabat: propter quod deos contra se turbatos timens, ad Martis gremium fugiebat, cui atque illa adulterii crimine familiaris reperta est."[2]

A more important question is the source of Chaucer's idea of the paintings on the walls. He had made use of it, as we have seen, in an earlier vision. Warton[3] refers first to the *Lay of Guigemar* by Marie de France, where a chamber is painted with Venus and the Art of Love from Ovid, ll. 233–244:[4]

[1] Albricus Philosophus, *De Deorum Imaginibus Libellus*, Augustinus van Staveren's *Auctores Mythographi Latini*, 1742, II. cap. v. pp. 896 ff.

[2] This quotation from Albricus does not, I feel, fix at all definitely the source of the description in the *Hous of Fame*. Representations of Venus and Cupid were, of course, very numerous. Cf. the following accounts from F. Piper, *Mythologie der christl. Kunst, Erste Abtheilung*, Weimar, 1847; Venus, Amor, u. die Musen, pp. 186 ff.

Illustration in a poem by Venantius Fortunatus, referred to by Piper, pp. 187, 188. Cupid and Venus come down "das königliche Brautgemach zu schmücken." See also Piper, I. p. 191—Ein Werk der bildenden Kunst, fourth or fifth century. "Das Relief der Vorderseite des Deckels stellt nehmlich die Toilette der Venus marina dar, welcher ein Triton den Spiegel vorhält; das der linken seite eine Nereide auf den Wellen schwimmend und von einem Amor begleitet" (*d'Aginc.* fig. 1, 5). "Desgleichen enthält ein dort gefundenes Silbernes Becken, dessen Griff die Figur des Adonis ziert, auf seinem Grunde die Toilette der Venus: die Göttin sitzt in der Mitte einer Muschel u. wird von zwei Liebesgöttern bedient, deren einer ihr den Spiegel vorhält" (*d'Aginc.* fig. 21, 22).

Of course, no source is suggested here; but the quotations show the nature of the conventional idea of the sea-origin of Venus. Cf. also references by Neilson, pp. 22 and 24–26, to Fulgentius, Theodulfus, and Guiraut de Calanso. No reference to her origin.

[3] *Hist. Eng. Poetry* (ed. Hazlitt), Lond. 1871, iii. p. 63.

[4] *Die Lais*, ed. by Karl Warnke (*Bibl. Normannica*, vol. iii.), Halle, 1900, 2nd ed.

"La chambre ert peinte tut en tur.
Venus, la deuesse d'amur,
fu tresbien mise en la peinture ;
les traiz mustrot e la nature
cument hom deit amur tenir
e leialment e bien servir.
Le livre Ovide, u il enseigne
coment chascuns s'amur estreigne,
en un fu ardant le getout,
e tuz icel escumenjout
ki ja mais cel livre lirreient
ne sun enseignement fereient."

"Chaucer might not look further," continues Warton, "than the temple of Boccaccio's *Teseide* for these ornaments." The possibility of influence from the *Teseide* seems slight. A much more likely influence would be from Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione*, in which are the descriptions of halls whose walls are painted with legendary love-episodes and with many figures, among them Cupid and Venus. One of these love-episodes is that of Dido and Æneas, told in chapters xxviii. and xxix. Chaucer's story of these two lovers, however, is based on Virgil's account. Its resemblance to Boccaccio's version is unique in no essential particulars, and affords no grounds for affirming any influence from the Italian author. Chaucer and Boccaccio treat independently the Virgilian story, each writer preserving features of this love-episode which are neglected by the other, Boccaccio probably adhering more closely to his source. The diversity in the treatment of Dido's lament illustrates the different points of view. Chaucer emphasizes the fickleness of Æneas and the disgrace brought on Dido; Boccaccio, the longing of Dido for the pleasures of the nuptial bed.

The presence of paintings on the walls of palaces was not unusual in the mythological poetry of the Middle Ages. In *Architrenius*, p. 297, is a palace, inside which are depicted the labours of antiquity. Alanus de Insulis says of the House of Nature in the *Anti-Claudianus* (Book I. cap. iv.), "Hic hominum mores picturae gratia scribit." One may refer also to the Mansion of Love in *La Panthère d'Amours*, ll. 797 ff., to the Castle of Beauty in *Li Mireoirs as Dames*,[1] ll. 199 ff., to the temple in Froissart's *Temple d'Onnour*,[2] to the paintings on the walls of

[1] Watriquet de Couvin, *Dits*, ed. by A. Scheler, Brussels, 1868.
[2] *Œuvres*, ii. pp. 162 ff. Cf. vol. iii. p. xlvi.

the palace in Dino Companzi's *L'Intelligenza*, Strophes 77–288.[1] The Temple of Juno in Chaucer's classical author should not be forgotten, *Æneid*, I. 446–493: a stately temple, enriched with gifts and the presence of the goddess. Inside are the Trojan battles in order. In the second book of the *Æneid*, Æneas begins his story. The situation here should be compared with the scenes in Chaucer's glass temple.

Whatever may have been the extent of the influence of these imaginary temples or palaces on Chaucer, he must have been well aware of and hence more or less impressed by actual paintings on the walls of castles, palaces and chapels of England and the Continent. Warton's remarks on Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*[2] offer conclusive testimony to the prominence of these actual paintings of biblical and secular stories. Pp. 63–65, "At the same time it is to be remembered that the imagination of these old poets must have been assisted in this respect from the mode which anciently prevailed of entirely covering the walls of the more magnificent apartments in castle and palace with stories from scripture-history, the classics, and romance. In 1277, Otho, duke of Milan, having restored the peace of that city by a signal victory, built a noble castle, in which he ordered every particular circumstance of that victory to be painted. Paulus Jovius relates that these paintings remained in the great vaulted chamber of the castle, fresh and unimpaired, so late as the year 1547.

"That the castles and palaces of England were thus ornamented at a very early period, and in the most splendid style, appears from the following notices. [Walter de] Langton, bishop of Lichfield, commanded the coronation, marriages, wars and funeral of his patron, Edward I., to be painted in the great hall of his episcopal palace, which he had newly built. This must have been about the year 1312.

"In the year 1322, one Symon, a friar minor and a doctor in theology, wrote an itinerary in which is this curious passage. He is speaking of Westminster Abbey. 'Near the monastery stands the most famous royal palace of England, in which is that celebrated chamber, on whose walls all the war-like histories of the whole Bible are painted with inexpressible skill, and explained by a regular and complete series of texts, beautifully written in French over each battle. . . .'"

[1] Ed. by P. Gullrich, Breslau, 1883. [2] II. pp. 61–65, especially 63–65.

Further interesting information in regard to the painting of chambers and chapels, etc., in England, may be derived from Mr. T. Hudson Turner's *Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England.*[1]

Vol. i. p. 87—"Almost all the chambers of Henry III. were painted of a green colour, scintillated or starred with gold, on which ground subjects were sometimes painted in compartments or circles; as the history of the Old and New Testament, passages from lives of the saints, figures of the Evangelists, and occasionally scenes taken from the favourite romances of the times."

P. 182. Liberate Roll, 17 Henry III.—"The keeper of the king's houses at Woodstock is ordered to cause to be painted in the king's round chapel at Woodstock in good colours, the Majesty of the Lord and the Four Evangelists, and the figure of St. Edmund on one side, and the figure of St. Edward on the other."—Windsor, Jan. 27.

Chapel of our chamber to be painted with "histories."—Kensington, March 17.

P. 191. Liberate Roll, 23 Henry III.—"The king to Walter de Burghe: 'We order you to cause to be built a certain chapel at our manor at Cliff, . . . and cause the chamber of our queen there to be wainscoted and painted with a 'history.'"—Woodstock, Aug. 28.

P. 228. Liberate Roll, 35 Henry III.—"The sheriff of Southampton is ordered to cause the king's new chapel in Winchester castle to be painted with the history of Joseph. . . ."—Winchester, Dec. 29.

P. 229. The King to the Sheriff of Wiltshire—"We command you to wainscote our chamber under our chapel (at Clarendon) . . . and to cause the 'history' of Antioch and the combat of King Richard to be painted in the same chamber . . ."—Marlborough, July 2.

For many references to painted windows and walls, chap. v. of Turner may be consulted (vol. i. second ed.).[2]

The last significant element of Chaucer's temple is the material of which it is constructed. It is "y-mad of glas." Warton (iii.

[1] Oxford and London, vol. i. second ed. 1877; vol. ii. 1st ed. 1853.

[2] See Turner, vol. ii. p. 47, in regard to persistence of paintings. "The paintings on the walls of the painted chamber at Westminster, though originally executed in the thirteenth century, were renewed in the fourteenth."

p. 61) says that these (glass) structures have their origin in the chemistry of the dark ages. I have found no glass temples or palaces belonging to Venus. The nearest approach is the building of crystal. In *De Venus la Deesse d'Amor*, the hall of the god of Love is of crystal (Neilson, p. 43). The pavilions of a palace in *Hueline et Aiglantine* are all of "cristal" (Neilson, p. 37).

Some additional references may be given here. Ralph Higden describes thus a temple in Rome—"Item ad Sanctum Stephanum in piscina fuit templum holovitreum, totum de crystallo et auro factum, ubi erat astronomia insculpta cum signis coeli et stellis. . . ." [1]

Book of Enoch, XIV.—Enoch flies to heaven, arrives at a wall built with stones of crystal, a spacious habitation built also with stones of crystal.

There is a glass house in the late series of *Triads*, iii. 10, referred to by Rhys,[2]—*Ynys Entli*, in which Merlin and his retinue enter the Glass House.[3]

CHAPTER IV

The Eagle. The Journey through the Air.

Chaucer's eagle combines three functions—1. the messenger of a divinity; 2. the guide to a hero on his journey; 3. the helpful animal. The first of these functions merges almost imperceptibly into the second; the third, though often combined with the second, seems to have arisen independently in Chaucer's mind.

1. The eagle as a messenger of Jupiter, or the all-ruler, goes back to the classics. *Iliad*, VIII. 245–6.—Zeus sends to the Achaians an eagle—surest sign among winged fowl—holding in his claws a fawn. *Iliad*, XXIV. 306 ff.—Priam prays to Zeus that he will send a bird of omen, even the swift messenger that is dearest of all birds to him and of mightiest strength. "Thus spake he praying and Zeus of wise counsels hearkened unto him and straightway sent forth an eagle, surest omen of winged birds, the dusky hunter, called of men the Black Eagle."

[1] Lib. I. cap. xxiv. p. 214, *Polychronicon*, ed. by C. Babington, Lond. 1865 (Rolls Series).

[2] *Celtic Folklore*, vol. ii. p. 440.

[3] Cf. also the glass tower in Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, p. 13; also the seas of glass, and the city of gold like unto clear glass, Rev. iv. 6, xv. 2, xxi, 18.

Virgil calls the eagle "Jovis ales," *Æneid*, I. 394. Ovid refers to the eagle as the attendant bird of Jupiter at the carrying off of Ganymede (*Met.* X. 155 ff.):

> "Rex Superum Phrygii quondam Ganymedis amore
> Arsit; et inventum est aliquid quod Juppiter esse,
> Quam quod erat, mallet. Nulla tamen alite verti
> Dignatur; nisi quae posset sua fulmina ferre
> Nec more: percusso mendacibus aere pennis
> Abrupit Iliaden; qui nunc quoque pocula miscet,
> Invitaque Jovi nectar Junone ministrat."

Apuleius, Book VI. pp. 118 ff.,[1] refers to Jove's royal bird as coming down from the lofty paths of Jupiter to bring assistance to Psyche. The situation in which Apuleius places the eagle here is rather striking in connection with the account of the eagle's services in Chaucer. The eagle in Apuleius remembers his ancient obligations to Cupid, who enabled him to carry the Phrygian cup-bearer up to Jove, and therefore in gratitude to the young god leaves Olympus and brings aid to Psyche in her distress. Chaucer's eagle, we recall, is sent by Jupiter to give pleasure to a poet who had long been a servant of Cupid and the goddess of Love.[2]

Chaucer's conception of the eagle as the messenger of Jupiter is undoubtedly based on the Latin classics. To what extent this conception was united in his mind with the idea of the eagle as a guide, who is at the same time a carrying animal, it is not easy to determine. If such an episode as the Ganymede story, for instance, was at the very bottom of Chaucer's representation, it formed surely but the slightest foundation for the treatment of the episode by Chaucer. The contributory influences, if I may still regard as probable the Ganymede story as its basis, were such, it will in a moment be evident, as to obscure very largely this primary material.[3]

[1] *The Golden Ass*, trans. into English, Lond., 1853. *Opera omnia L. Apuleii*, 2 vols. Lipsiae, 1842, ed. by G. F. Hildebrand, Book VI. cap. xv.

[2] The influence of this conception seems to have prevailed in the Scottish *Lancelot of the Laik* (see pp. 1–8), where a green bird comes to the poet and says that it is sent by the god of Love, who is not satisfied with the Lover's services. (Maitland Club, Pub. 48, 1839.)

[3] In this whole question of the sources of Chaucer's eagle, the possibility is ever before one of influence from popular fiction—folk-tales and romances. So in regard to the messenger, may there have been any reminiscences of the fairy messenger? The fairy messenger is often a young damsel, who may assist the hero in his enterprises. Fairy dogs are sent to this world as mes-

2. The most important *rôle* of Chaucer's eagle is that of a guide—of a guide who not only directs the hero to the goal of his journey, and gives him much information, but also is the means by which the journey is accomplished—he carries the poet to the "place" of Fame. Whence did Chaucer derive the suggestion for this function of the eagle? Manifestly, not from any single source. The fact must be emphasized at once that Chaucer's representation of the flight of the eagle and poet through the air does not depend entirely upon the conceptions which would naturally be in his mind of this specific guide, and of the part which such a guide usually played. Hence, the danger into which my somewhat arbitrary division of the part played by the eagle leads is apparent. In an attempt to account separately for each function of the eagle, we must not lose sight of the situation which must have presented itself to Chaucer. In the background is the fundamental idea of a journey to the House of Fame, where he is to be rewarded for his services to Love. At this moment the journey from the field in which is situated the temple of Venus to the "place" of Fame is uppermost in his mind. The conception of the eagle as a guide on the journey gradually assumes shape—not, I believe, starting from any single legend such as that of Ganymede, but depending upon the necessary conditions of the plan of his poem, and evolved from the great storehouse of legendary material concerning guides to a hero on a journey, animals as guides, animals as hero-carriers, the eagle as a messenger, the eagle who takes a hero up into the air, famous journeys taken through the air by heroes, etc. There is no starting-point from which may be traced the whole course of this aërial journey with the eagle.

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sengers or as gifts to mortals. They serve as guides in other-world adventures or as comforters in some special misfortune. See Miss Lucy Paton, *Studies in Fairy Mythology*, Boston, 1903, p. 230, n. 3, for a long list of examples. Also Professor A. C. L. Brown, *Knight of the Lion*, Publications Mod. Lang. Assn., vol. xx. No. 4, p. 677 and p. 695, n. 1. The closeness of the functions of Chaucer's eagle to those of beasts in folk-tales and romances is felt at once. Mr. Brown says, in the above note, "Of course carrying beasts connect themselves with guiding beasts, which are extremely well known as fairy messengers." It is unnecessary to give examples of the many damsel messengers in the romances—the possibility of any relation with Chaucer's messenger is too remote. I may mention here the messenger of Odin. For this reminder I am indebted to Professor Schofield. See W. G. Beyer, *Erinnerungen an die Nordische Mythologie*, p. 163; also R. B. Anderson, *Norse Mythology*, Chicago, 1879, p. 219. The ravens Hugin and Munin go out at daybreak to fly over the world.

Hence, though it is within the bounds of probability, I should be much surprised if at any time a source should be discovered which resembles very closely this composite picture in the *Hous of Fame*.

Yet the sort of material, and probably in some instances the exact material, which Chaucer made use of may be set forth with considerable assurance. We are now concerned with the *rôle* of the eagle as a guide. The legend of Ganymede as told by Ovid was surely in Chaucer's mind. I am inclined to think, however, that the importance of the story for the eagle as a guide and carrying animal has been over-estimated. Is it entirely certain that the legend as told in the *Metamorphoses*, as Professor Lounsbury says,[1] suggests to Chaucer the central incident for which the bird is introduced? The eagle whose shape Jupiter assumed merely performs the office of carrying Ganymede to heaven. Chaucer's eagle performs the functions of a guide. The likelihood of a pretty direct influence from the Ganymede story seems plausible in view of the dependence of the *Hous of Fame* on material from the classics. Yet the idea of the poem is purely mediæval—the reward of a poet for his service to Love; the framework is mediæval; and the material, though partly from the classics, is thoroughly imbued with the essence of mediæval life. The influence from the classics on this poem is by no means to be disregarded; but the fact must be borne in mind that many a conception which seems to spring from the true ancient sources had been so thoroughly modified and enlarged by subsequent writers that the wider stream was more attractive to a mediæval poet. Forgotten the original conception could not be; but not for that reason was it necessarily fundamental. The appeal which such an early conception would make

[1] Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, ii. 246. His words may be quoted here: "In this particular matter [introduction of the eagle] Chaucer is under far greater indebtedness to Ovid than to Dante. There is an eagle in the 9th canto of the *Purgatorio*. But there is also an eagle in the 10th book of the *Metamorphoses*, who carries away Ganymede. It is there Jove's own bird, or rather Jove transformed into the shape of his own bird who bears to heaven the Trojan youth. In the *Hous of Fame*, in a similar way, it is Jove's own bird that appears. It is sent by Jove himself for the express purpose of conveying Chaucer up to the temple of the Goddess. It is the legend as told in the *Metamorphoses* that suggests to him the central incident for which the bird is introduced."

Chiarini, *Di una imitazione, etc.*, *La Casa della Fama*, pp. 96 and 97, comments on Lounsbury's statements, and supports Rambeau's theory as to the influence of Dante's eagle.

to Chaucer's literary intelligence would be secondary to that which would be exerted by later portrayals often nearer to the poet's own tastes, and more like the completed representation in his own poem. The eagle legend from Ovid should, I believe, be looked upon as one of the sources of Chaucer's large conception, but not necessarily as a point of departure.

Another suggested source for the *rôle* of the eagle as a guide, leaving out of account, of course, the trait of carrying animal, is Virgil, the guide of Dante on his journey. The discussion in Part II. of the resemblances offered by Rambeau makes useless any extended consideration here. The resemblances seem merely fortuitous. One cannot, however, deny dogmatically all influence from the figure of Virgil, even though no definite indebtedness may be established.

The last explanation of the eagle as a guide—and here the "carrying function" is emphasized—to which I shall call attention is that presented by Dr. Garrett.[1] His theory, which attempts to account for the genesis of the whole poem, may be given in his own words (p. 172)—"In the *Hous of Fame* it is not to be pretended that the description of Jove's great golden eagle taking the poet through the upper air is not strongly influenced by Chaucer's knowledge of the story of Ganymede (l. 589; cf. Ovid, *Met.* X. 160; Virgil, *Æn.* I. 28); but, on the other hand, this does not preclude the likelihood that the first hint of the plot of the poem came to Chaucer from a fairy tale which was then expanded and embellished according to literary models." This fairy tale would be based on the combined folk-tale motives of the eagle and the glass-mountain. In a foot-note (p. 172) Mr. Garrett adds: "That the eagle had golden feathers and swooped down like a thunderbolt doubtless comes from Dante (*Purg.* IX.), as pointed out by ten Brink (*Studien*, p. 92) and Rambeau (p. 232). This need not mean more than another literary contribution like the story of Ganymede. . . . The order of recollection as Chaucer composed may, however, have been this—a first suggestion from Dante (*Purg.* IX.) supplemented by the Ganymede story and other accounts of heavenly flights; then the subconscious folk-tale motives may have led him to introduce the ice hill with its palace, great witch, etc., as he neared his destination."

Whatever may have been the influence, conscious or sub-

[1] *Harv. Stud. and Notes*, V.

conscious, of folk-tale motives, it was not, I am confident, exerted in the manner or by the means suggested in Mr. Garrett's article. The glass-mountain of folk-tales, as will be evident later, has little in common with Chaucer's hill of ice. The eagle in the tales brought forward by Mr. Garrett is always a bird of prey; and the main characteristics in common between Chaucer's eagle and the bird of these tales is their "carrying" function. But, as Mr. Garrett admits, Chaucer was very likely to have been influenced in this respect by the Ganymede story. Even if we combine the two motives—the eagle and the glass-mountain—the combination upon which Mr. Garrett bases his argument, the possibility of any decided influence in this direction is still very slight, since we have before us [1] much closer parallels both to Chaucer's eagle in its appearance and functions, and to the rock of ice in its distinguishing characteristics, than are offered by any of the folk-tales brought forward in the establishing of the 'fairy-tale' source.[2]

An explanation for the hill of ice will be offered later [3]; a consideration of Chaucer's description of the eagle has already been given [4]; at the moment we may turn to a study of some further material which may have influenced Chaucer in the conception of the eagle as a guide and carrying animal.[5] Is it possible that

[1] These will appear later.

[2] The clearest case which Mr. Garrett finds of a hero's being carried to the top of a glass-mountain in the claws of a bird of prey is a tale from K. W. Woycicki, *Polnische Märchen* (trans. by F. H. Lewestam), pp. 115 ff., Garrett, p. 170.

An enchanted princess waits seven years for a deliverer in a golden castle on the top of a great glass-mountain. Many knights have ridden part way up, but have slipped and been dashed to pieces at the bottom. Three days from the end of the seven years, a knight in golden armour succeeds in riding half-way up, then turns around and comes safely down; next day he tries once more, and has almost reached the summit when an immense falcon flies at his horse and tears out its eyes; the horse leaps, falls with its rider, and both are dashed to pieces. On the last day a fine young fellow, a scholar, appears on foot; he has heard of the difficult ascent, has killed a lynx, and now has its claws fastened to his hands and feet. With the greatest exertion he climbs till sunset, and is then only half-way up; he is exhausted, and hangs there in extreme peril all night. Next morning the great falcon circling the mountain takes him for a fresh corpse, and seizing him in its talons carries him above the summit. An apple-tree with golden apples stands in front of the castle; having cut off the falcon's feet with his knife, the youth falls into the tree. By help of the magic apples he gains access to the castle, overcomes the dragon, and wins the princess.

[3] Chap. v. pp. 114 ff.

[4] Part II.

[5] It seems hardly worth while after Dr. Garrett's thorough study to look farther into folk-tales for the source of Chaucer's eagle guide. For other instances of the "eagle motive" in folk-lore see references given by Garrett,

Chaucer may have been influenced by Eastern legends of a hero's journey through the air with an eagle[1]? A parallel, suggestive in some respects, is furnished by the Babylonian story of Etana's flight with the eagle.[2]

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p. 161 n. See Ralston, p. 285 (*Russian Folk-Tales*, London, 1873), for the Fire Bird of Russian folk-tales. Its feathers blaze with silvery or golden sheen, its eyes shine like crystal, it dwells in a golden cage. There is no connection between the "guiding animal" or "carrying animal" of popular fiction and Chaucer's eagle; at least it is not easy to obtain a tangible resemblance. What seems to me the most probable influence from this direction—that of the helpful animal—had probably in Chaucer's mind no connection with the *rôle* of the eagle as a guide and carrying animal. For "guiding animals" and "carrying animals" see the references given by Professor Brown, Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn., vol. xx. No. 4, pp. 688, 694, p. 695 n. 1. See also Curtin, *Hero-Tales of Ireland*, Boston, 1894, pp. 179, 278, 345; also the *Somadeva Märchen Sammlung*, trans. by H. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1843, cap. xxvi., where the hero is carried to the Golden City by an eagle who speaks with a man's voice; also the legend of Mohammed's Journey to Jerusalem on a mysterious animal, the Borak, and of his ascent into the sky—*Mirâdj-Nâmeh*, translated by A. Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1882.

Carl Kiesevetter, *Faust*, p. 319, refers to a tradition in Hebrew Magic Lore: "Salomon wurde nach der Tradition von den Teufeln Aza und Azael in der Zauberei unterrichtet und fuhr täglich von einem Adler getragenen Stuhl in ihre Berge um ihre Geheimnisse zu erfahren." In Thiodwolf's Haust Song in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (Vigfusson and Powell, 2 vols., Oxford, 1883), vol. ii. p. 9 ff., the giant Thiazzi, clothed in an ancient eagle's feather skin, flies to the home of the Anses and carries off Loki. A griffon snatches Huon of Bordeaux up, and carries him to a high mountain (A. Graf, *Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo*, vol. ii. Appendix, pp. 391 ff. (2 vols. Torino, 1893).

Two further references to eagles may be appended here:—

Joan d'Albuzon, fol. 129 *b*, MS. Plut. XLI, Cod. 43, Florentine Bibliothek. (See Herrig, *Archiv.* vol. 33, 1863, 2 und 3 Heft, p. 297.) An eagle appears to the author in his dream.

"En niccolet dun sognie qui eu sognaua
Maraullios una nuit qan mi dormia
Voil mesplanez qe molt mespauentaua
Tot loseigles dun aigla qe uenia
Devers salern super laire uolant
E tot qant es fugie ale denant
Si cal seu senz encauzaua e prendria
Com denant lei defendre nos poiria."

William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, Lib. II. p. 166. An eagle appears in a vision to Athelwold's mother—"Auream aquilam ex ore suo avolasse, quae pennarum plausu diu civitatem perlustrans, novissime altitudine nubium evicta, celum subisse."

[1] See Garrett, p. 158 n.

[2] See L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, pp. 184 ff. (Lond. 1899).

See Morris Jastrow, Babylonian Etana Legend, in Delitzsch and Haupt, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 363 ff. The kinship of this legend with the Greek myth of Danaë and Akrisios and with the Ganymede story is suggested by E. J. Harper in an article in the *Beiträge*, II. pp. 390–521, entitled *Die Babylonischen Legenden von Etana, Zu, Adapa, und Dibbara*. See further E. J. Wallis Budge, *Life and Exploits of Alexander*, London, 1896, pp. xxxvii–xli; and Meissner, *Alexander and Gilgamos*, p. 17 (this work I have not seen).

The hero clung to the eagle's wings until they mounted so high that they could see the gates of heaven. They beheld a throne of great splendour, and Etana was afraid, and cast himself at the foot of the throne. But the eagle encouraged Etana to mount with him still higher. After every two hours of his flight, the eagle pointed to the earth below them, which grew smaller and smaller as they ascended, and at length they reached the gate of Anu, Bel, and Ea. After resting for a while, the eagle proposed to Etana that he should carry him up still higher to the dwelling of the goddess Ishtar—gap in MS.—they fell headlong through the air and were dashed to the ground.[1]

In the light of Chaucer's knowledge of the Alexander legend, we must attach some importance to the story of Alexander's flight to the heavens on an eagle. Mr. E. J. Wallis Budge refers to the Ethiopic version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes.[2] The part of the story which concerns us is told on page 277. "And he (Alexander) made himself small and flew through the air on (the back of) an eagle, and he arrived in the heights of the heavens, and he explored them, and he saw the east and the west thereof, and the beauties and the terrors thereof, and the stations of the birth and the going forth of the stars."

The possibilities of influence on the conception of the guide are not, however, to be limited to actual eagle guides. Any guide to a hero on an aërial journey might have furnished suggestions to Chaucer. The office of Theology in the Anti-Claudianus who guides Prudentius to Nature is somewhat similar to that of the eagle as one who shows the way to a hero. Then I attach no little weight to the figure of Africanus in the *Somnium Scipionis*. As a matter of fact, Africanus is not a guide in the

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The marked difference between such a flight with an eagle and the stories collected by Garrett is of course apparent. The eagle here is not a bird of prey.

[1] For the name Etana, see 1 Kings v. 11. Jastrow (*The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1898) gives an interesting account of Etana's journey on p. 520. Etana's patron is Shamash, the sun-god. There were two episodes in the hero's career: 1. birth of a son; 2 miraculous journey. Etana prays to Shamash to show him the "plant of birth"—(Etana's wife is in distress). The eagle no doubt helps Etana to the top of the mountain where the plant grows. "The eagle," continues Jastrow, "in many mythologies is a symbol of the sun, and it is plausible to conclude that the bird is sent to Etana at the instigation of Shamash." The general resemblance to Chaucer's story is obvious—a messenger sent from a great god; the eagle who carries the hero and talks to him; journey through the heavens.

[2] *Life and Exploits of Alexander.* There seems to be some connection between the Etana story and Alexander's flight into the upper regions.

sense of a person who accompanies another on a journey and shows him the way. In the dream Scipio imagines that he is up in the heavens with Africanus, who points out to him places of interest and gives him information and instruction. But it seems fairly evident from the use which Chaucer made in the *Parlement* of this figure from Cicero, that he thought of Africanus as a guide. In keeping with this idea, Chaucer may have been somewhat influenced by the *Somnium* in the creation of his guide here in the *House of Fame*. Of course, this is only a possibility, but it is a possibility which cannot be disregarded in a study of the various influences which may have combined to form the functions of the eagle as a guide.

We come now to a class of guides very prominent in mediæval vision-literature—the guides in visions of hell, purgatory, and heaven. In the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham, the guide is an old man clad in white (St. Nicholas). Thurcill, in his vision, is conducted by St. Julian to Purgatory. In the Vision of Thespesius (told by Plutarch in *De Tard. Just. Div.*) the spirit carries Thespesius and gives him information. The guide is Christ himself in the Apocalypse of Peter, the earliest Christian vision, except St. John. In the Vision of Alberic, a bird of white plumage, like a dove, seizes him by the hair and raises him up into space. Then the Apostle Peter appears, accompanied by two angels, and they conduct him. In the Vision of Furseus (told by Bede) three angels bear him up into the air. The guide in the Vision of Drihthelm (also told by Bede) has a shining countenance and a bright garment, and leaves him suddenly, as in Thespesius. In the Vision of Wettin a crowd of demons surround the dreamer. An angel in shining garments comes to him and says, "I am come, beloved soul, to assist you in this need."

And finally, we must take into account the guides in the love-visions. These are usually damsels in the service of Love or the divinity himself. They guide the hero in his dream to his mistress or to the house of Love, or to the palace of some other divinity. The nature of Chaucer's guide precludes any considerable direct influence from these guides of the love-visions, even on the *rôle* of the eagle as one who shows the hero the way.

3. The third function of the eagle, that of the helpful animal, is manifest only in the third book, where the poet is taken by the eagle into the revolving house of twigs. I may merely

anticipate the more thorough discussion in its proper place of the entrance of the eagle and hero into the revolving house by giving in a word what I believe to be the situation. It is essentially the situation, common in popular fiction, of a revolving castle into which the hero may enter only by the aid of some animal or person. This *rôle* of the eagle did not occur to Chaucer, probably, until he conceived the device of a revolving house of twigs, an idea which must have come to him late in the composition of the poem. Hence, the stories of helpful animals who lead a hero to a revolving house and enable him to enter had little to do, if anything at all, in determining Chaucer's eagle as a guide. The one phase of the helpful animal's service—that of enabling a hero to enter a revolving house—is what attracted Chaucer's attention. The influence of this motive of folk-tales and romances will be studied in the next chapter in connection with the "place" of the goddess of Fame.

The material which was at Chaucer's command, and some of which he certainly used in his representation of the eagle and the flight with the hero, has been indicated with some assurance in the former part of the chapter. It remains now to consider the various elements which may have assisted the poet in his picture of the journey to the House of Fame. The notion itself of the aërial flight has been sufficiently accounted for—it was made necessary by the situation of the goal of Chaucer's journey. It will be of interest, however, to determine, if possible, the sources of the material used in this poetic portrayal. The elements of the description most interesting to us from the point of view of origins are:

1. the discussion of sound; 2. the account of the poet's experience in the upper regions.

1. The discussion of sound.

The reference of this long discussion of sound to the influence of Dante is evidently little justified.[1] The one definite parallelism as presented by Rambeau (Sec. 10) is based on the following passage from Dante's *Paradiso*, I. ll. 103 ff.:

"'. . . . . Le cose tutte e quante
Hann' ordine tra loro; . . . . . .
. . . . . .

[1] See Part II. p. 61.

Nell' ordine ch'io dico sono accline
Tutte nature, per diverse sorti,
Più al principio loro e men vicine ;
Onde si movono a diversi porti
Per lo gran mar dell' essere, e ciascuna
Con istinto a lei dato che la porti."

Professor Skeat says that Chaucer's lines (730 ff.) are "really founded on a passage in Boethius, Lib. III. Prosa 11, which is also imitated in the *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 16963–9." The following extract will indicate the character of the section in Boethius.[1]

"Cur enim flammas quidem sursum levitas vehit, terras vero deorsum pondus deprimit, nisi quod haec singulis loca motionesque conveniunt? Porro autem quod cuique consentaneum est, id unumquodque conservat: sicuti ea, quae sunt inimica conrumpunt. Jam vero quae dura sunt ut lapides, adhaerent tenacissime partibus suis, et ne facile dissolvantur resistunt. Quae vero liquentia ut aer atque aqua, facile quidem dividentibus cedunt . . . ." I may subjoin here an additional extract from the same work.[2]

"Repetunt proprios quaeque recursus,
Redituque suo singula gaudent:
Nec manet ulli traditus ordo,
Nisi quod fini iunxerit ortum,
Stabilemque sui fecerit orbem."

The passage in the *Roman de la Rose* to which Professor Skeat refers is that quoted by Koeppel:[3]—*Roman de la Rose*, ll. 16857 ff. (ed. Méon)—

"Et par raisonnable mesures
Termina toutes les figures—
Et le mist en leus convenables
Selonc ce qu'il les vit metables
Les legieres en haut volerent
Les pesans où centre avalerent."

Froissart in his *Le Joli Buisson de Jonece*[4] bears witness to the interest in this special scientific theory:

"Car le philozophe recorde
Que sannables quiert son sannable."

Professor Skeat's notes to ll. 765 and 788 (*Minor Poems*, 2nd

[1] *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. by Theodorus Obbarius, Jenae, 1843, pp. 64–65.
[2] Liber III. Metrum ii. p. 45.
[3] *Chaucériana, Anglia*, XIV. (2) 246.
[4] Ll. 1499–1500, *Oeuvres*, vol. ii.

ed. p. 340) throw additional light on the probable sources of a part of Chaucer's account.

To l. 765.—"The theory of sound is treated of in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Naturale*, Lib. IV. cap. 14. . .";[1] "in the treatise by Boethius, *De Musica* (to which Chaucer expressly refers in *N.-P. Tale*, l. 472), Lib. I. c. 3, I find:—'Sonus vero praeter quendam pulsum percussionemque non redditur . . . Idcirco definitur sonus, aeris percussio indissoluta usque ad auditum.'"

To l. 788.—"The illustration is a good one; I have no doubt that it is obtained, directly or at second-hand, from Boethius. *Vincent of Beauvais, Spec. Nat.* Lib. XXV. c. 58,[2] says:—'Ad quod demonstrandum inducit idem Boetius tale exemplum: Lapis proiectus in medio stagni facit breuissimum circulum, et ille alium, et hoc fit donec vel ad ripas peruenerit, vel impetus defecerit.'"

Professor Skeat then gives the original passage from Boethius, *De Musica*. Vincent has, however, another discussion of the way sound is transmitted, in which this same example is used. The entire treatment of voice and sound in the *Speculum Naturale* has so many points of contact with Chaucer's description that I am inclined to doubt the wisdom of ascribing much influence to Boethius. Chapter xii. of the Fifth Book is given up to a discussion of voice. "Quid enim," Vincent says, "est vox; nisi intensio aeris ut auditum: linguae formata percussu." In Chapter xiv. the author tells what sound is; in Chapter xv. he describes the different sounds and how they are produced; Chapter xviii. includes the example of the stone thrown in the water, as showing how sound goes from place to place. A comparison of Chaucer's account with some bits of illustrative material may be of service:—

Hous of Fame, ll. 765–781—	*Speculum Naturale*, V. cap. xiv.—	Macrobius, *Commentary II.* cap. 4[3]—
"Soun is noght but air y-broken,	"Sonus est aeris percussio indissoluta	"Diximus, nunquam sonum fieri,
And every speche that is spoken,	usque ad auditum. Sonatum autem est	nisi aere percusso. Ut autem sonus
Loud or prive, foul or fair,	motivum aeris: usque ad auditum. . . .	ipse aut acutior, aut gravior proferatur,
In his substaunce is but air;	Facere vero sonum actu. est ipsius aeris medii et auditus: fit	ictus efficit: qui, dum ingens et celer

[1] Should be Lib. V. [2] There is evidently an error in this reference.
[3] *Commentarius ex Cicerone in Somnium Scipionis* in Collection des Auteurs Latins, Paris, 1883.

For as flaumbe is but lighted smoke,
Right so soun is air y-broke.
But this may be in many wyse,

Of which I wil thee two devyse,
As soun that comth of pype or harpe.

For whan a pype is blowen sharpe,
The air is twist with violence,
And rent; lo, this is my sentence;
Eek, whan man harpe-stringes smyte,
Whether hit be much or lyte,
Lo, with the strook the air to-breketh;
Right so hit breketh whan man speketh.
Thus-wost thou wel what thing is speche."

autem semper sonus secundum actum ab aliquo. et ad aliquid et in aliquo. Aliud enim est verberans. Et aliud quod verberatur et aliud ipsa verberatio."

Cap. xv.—

"Sonus autem multis modis generatur. . . . Acutum enim est penetrativum ac divisivum potius quam expulsivum ac fractivum; fit autem praecipue sonus magnus: si ea quae percutiantur aere sint plena; sicut metalla quae aerem percussum diu retinent; ac per hoc magnum faciunt sonum. alio modo fit sonus non ex percussione solidi corporis ad solidum, sed ex scissione unius partis ab alia: sicut cum rumpitur pannus vel lignum; tunc enim aer frangitur violenter et eius fractura causat sonum . . . Quarto etiam modo fit aeris constrictione: sicut quando constringitur per follem vel per flatonem intra fistulam."

incidit, acutum sonum praestat;
si tardior leniorve, graviorem.
Indicio est virga, quae, dum auras percutit,
si impulsu cito feriat, sonum acuit; si
lentior, gravius ferit auditum. In *fidibus*
quoque idem videmus; quae, si tractu artiore tenduntur,
acute sonant; si laxiore, gravius. . . .
Nec secus probamus in *tibiis*."[1]

Chaucer's "pype" and "harpe-stringes" correspond pretty closely to Macrobius's "fidibus" and "tibiis."[2] This parallelism in examples may make more noteworthy the parallelism in the

[1] A discussion of gravitation is given in Book i. cap. xxii.

[2] The use of these words in itself of course means nothing. Martianus Capella makes use of the same words when he compares the chorus of the Muses to other music—"nam nec *tibiarum* mela nec ex *fidibus* sonitus nec hydraularum harmonica deerat plenitudo . . . *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, Lipsiae, 1866, II., pp. 117 ff.

general discussion. No marked exclusive resemblances appear between Chaucer's words and those either of Vincent or Macrobius. We may now compare the *Hous of Fame*, ll. 781 ff., with the passages from Boethius and from the *Speculum Naturale* :—

Hous of Fame, ll. 781ff.—

Now, hennesforth I wol thee teche,
How every speche, or noise, or soun,

Through this multiplicacioun

. . . . .

Moot nede come to Fames House.

. . . . .

. . . . for if that thou

Throwe on water now a stoon,
Wel wost thou, hit wol make anoon
A litel roundel as a cercle,

Paraventure brood as a covercle;
And right anoon thou shalt see weel,
That wheel wol cause another wheel,
And that the thridde, and so forth, brother
Every cercle causing other,

Wyder than himselve was;

And this fro roundel to compas,
Ech aboute other goinge,

Caused of othres steringe,

And multiplying ever-mo,

Til that hit be so fer y-go,
That hit at bothe brinkes be.

Boethius, *De Musica*, Lib. I. c. 14—

"Nunc quis modus sit audiendi disseramus. Tale enim quiddam fieri consuevit in vocibus quale cum paludibus vel quietis aquis jactum eminus mergitur saxum. Prius enim in parvissimum orbem undam colligit, deinde maioribus orbibus undarum globos spargit, atque eo usque dum fatigatus motus ab eliciendis fluctibus conquiescat. Semperque posterior et maior undula pulsu debiliori diffunditur. Quod si quid sit, quod crescentes undas possit offundere, statim motus ille revertitur, et quasi ad centrum, unde profectus fuerat, eisdem undulis rotundatur. Ita igitur cum aer pulsu fecerit sonum, pellit alium proximum, et quodammodo rotundum fluctum aeris ciet. Itaque diffunditur et omnium circumstantium simul ferit auditum atque illi est obscurior vox, qui longius steterit, quoniam ad eum debilior pulsi aeris unda pervenit."

Speculum Naturale, V. cap. xviii.—

"At vero cum auditus (ut dictum est supra) per circumferentiam fiat: sonus efficitur secundum circulum majorem et minorem: itaque minor circulus generat majorem: et ille iterum majorem. Cujus exemplum patet in lapillo in aqua projecto in aquam videlicet stantem. Ubi videlicet lapis cadens est centorum multorum circulorum successive generatorum. Eo que una pars aquae impulsata: inundat super aliam circumquaque per circumferentiam. Sic ergo et aer impulsus per primum sonans; inundat super aerem vicinum circum quaque. Cum itaque circulus non tangat circulum nisi in puncto: et ita non corrumpent se ad invicem."

Al-thogh thou mowe hit
not y-see
Above, hit goth yet alway
under,
. . . . .
And right thus every word,
y-wis,
. . . . . .
Moveth first an air aboute,
And of this moving, out of
doute,
Another air anoon is
meved,
As I have of the water
preved,
That every cercle causeth
other."

2. The description of the upper regions of the air.

Chaucer's relation of his experience in the "hevenes regioun" is essentially independent and original. Some single words or phrases may be traced to definite sources, but here the source-study practically ends. One may search diligently through the authors and in the material to which the poet refers, and by which one may suppose him to have been somewhat influenced, and one will find but the barest evidence for any definite ascription of Chaucer's imaginative recital.

To illustrate how high he is up in the air, Chaucer mentions "Alexander Macedo," "the king, dan Scipio," and the Daedalus and Icarus story. Of these three references, but one, "the king, dan Scipio," seems to point to any definite use of material for the description in the *Hous of Fame*, and even as to this there is much uncertainty. Ten Brink makes the following remarks in his *Studien*, pp. 88 ff.: "Warton erinnert weiter daran, dass die Luft-reise Chaucer's zum Theil der Fahrt Phaeton's im Sonnenwagen (*Met.* II. 150 ff.) nachgebildet ist. . . . Zweimal erinnert Chaucer sich der von Cicero dargestellten Vision des Scipio, im Eingang des Buches (II. 6 and 408). Man vergleiche z. b. *De re publica*, VI. 16, *Hous of Fame*, II. 396. Jam vero ipsa terra ita mihi parva visa est, ut me imperii nostri, quo quasi punctum eius attingimus, poeniteret.—Auch der unmittelbar sich anschliessende Passus des Somnium hat im *Hous of Fame*, II. l. 417, eine Spur hinter lassen. 'Quam (nl. terram) cum magis intuerer, Quaeso, inquit Africanus, quousque humi defixa tua mens erit? nonne

adspicis, quae in templa veneris?'" I may also refer to Scipio's remarks about the Milky Way[1]:—"This was a circle, shining among the celestial fires with a most brilliant whiteness. As I looked at it, all other things seemed magnificent and wonderful."

"And tho thought I upon Boece," l. 972.

Chaucer made use of Boethius for a few lines, but that is all. It is just possible that the Latin author suggested the following phrase (l. 907):—

ll. 904 ff.—"But thus sone in a whyle he
Was flowen fro the grounde so hye,
That al the world, as to my ye,
No more semed than a prikke."

With this may be compared Boethius, Lib. II. Prosa vii.[2]—"Omnem terrae ambitum, sicuti astrologicis demonstrationibus accepisti, ad caeli spatium puncti constat obtinere rationem. . . ."[3]

Ll. 972–978 are manifestly influenced by Boethius. Cf. Liber IV. Prosa i.:[4]—"Pennas etiam tuae menti quibus se in altum tollere possit, adfigam;" and Liber IV. Metrum i.[5]

"And then thoughte I on Marcian," l. 985.

This reference means very little in connection with Chaucer's flight. Marcian is an authority whom Chaucer learnedly cites.

[1] Trans. in Lounsbury's ed. *Parlement*, p. 13. Chaucer may not, of course, have had the *Somnium* in mind.

[2] Chaucer translates—"Al the envyrounge of the erthe aboute ne halt but the resoun of a *prykke* at regard of the gretnesse of hevene." I may add here for the sake of convenience, Boccaccio's description in *La Teseide*, Lib. 11. 1 and 2, of the flight of the soul of Arcite through the air. The soul of Arcite goes

"Ver la concavità del cielo ottava:
. . . . . .
Quindi si volse in giù a rimirare
Le cose abbandonate, e vide il poco
Globo terreno, a cui d'intorno il mare
Girava e l'aere, e di sopra il foco,
Ed ogni cosa da nulla stimare
A rispetto del ciel; ma poi al loco
Là dove aveva il suo corpo lasciato
Gli occhi fermò alquanto rivoltato."

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 36. [4] *Op. cit.* p. 72. [5] *Op. cit.* p. 72–3:—

"Sunt etinim pennae volucres mihi,
Quae celsa conscendant poli;
Quas sibi cum velox mens induit,
Terras perosa despicit,
Aeris immensi superat globum,
Nubesque post tergum videt.
Quique agili motu calet aetheris,
Transcendit ignis verticem,
Donec in astriferas surgat domos, etc."

Marcian's description of the "hevenes regioun" which is found in the eighth book of the *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, is a scholastic discussion of the heavenly bodies; and such a description could have had little direct influence on Chaucer's imaginative portrayal in the *Hous of Fame*. As Chaucer himself says to the eagle, he doesn't care to learn anything about the stars: he is "to old." The eagle knows, of course, the poet's thoughts, and as soon as the works of Marcian and the Anti-Claudian are mentioned, this guide exclaims, ll. 992–3:

> "Lat be . . . thy fantasye,
> Wilt thou lere of sterres aught?"

to which Chaucer replies, ll. 994–5:

> "Nay, certeinly . . . right naught,
> And why? for I am now to old."

He is satisfied with what he has already read of the places of the stars, ll. 1012–14:—

> "I leve as wel, so God me spede,
> Hem that wryte of this matere,
> As though I knew her places here."[1]

"And eek on Anti-Claudian;" l. 986.—The place in the *Anti-Claudianus* to which Chaucer refers is summarized by Bossard[2]:— Prudentius goes in a chariot driven by Ratio through the immense fields of the sky, considers all things and the causes of things: "inquirit enim quae sit nubium . . . natura et origo; unde oriantur venti et pluviae, nives et grando; qua vi producantur fulmina; quin imo, in aere vagantes aspicit spiritus, quorum quidem alii boni sunt et homines protegunt, alii vero mali hominibus insidias moliuntur. His incipit praeclara mundi descriptio. A poeta describuntur novem orbes coeli, Luna nempe et Sol, Venus et Mercurius, Mars et Jupiter, Saturnus et Firmamentum, in quo stellae radiant, Zodiacus denique cum signis suis (Lib. V. cap. ii.). Nam pervenienti ad hanc usque sublimem regionem, jam ultro non patet aditus . . . Dum Phronesis ancipiti sententia haeret quid sit actura, en subito *Theologia*, puellae pulcherrimae similis . . . ante oculos ejus apparet." Lib. V. cap. iii.

Little of the nature of definite evidence has appeared in the

[1] Macrobius in his *Commentary*, Book I. cap. 14–21, has a treatise on the heavenly bodies, similar in many respects to Martianus. But it is useless to attempt any quotations.

[2] Eugène Bossard, *Alani de Insulis; Anti-Claudianus cum Divina Dantis Aligihieri Comoedia Collatus, Andegavi*, 1885, pp. 39 ff.

above citations.[1] The difficulty in placing the responsibility on any one author is seen in the following seemingly unwarranted ascription by Cino Chiarini.[2] He has in mind Chaucer's ll.1000–1008:—

> " 'Yis parde,' quod he; 'wostow why?
> For whan thou redest poetrye,
> How goddes gonne stellifye
> Bird, fish, beste, or him or here,
> As the Raven, or either Bere,
> Or Arione's harpe fyne,
> Castor, Polux or Delphyne,
> Or Athalantes doughtres sevene,
> How alle these arn set in hevene;' "

and he refers to Dante's *Paradiso*, XXII.: " dove Dante enumera i setti pianeti, dopo aver parlato a lungo dell' influsso benigno delle stelle dei Gemini sul proprio ingegno."

CHAPTER V

The Characteristic Elements of the Third Book.

In the third book of the *Hous of Fame*, Chaucer visits the "place" of the goddess of Fame and describes for us her habitation, her appearance and attributes, and lastly the house of tidings near by. The palace of the goddess, which as we learn from the second book stands

> "Right even in middes of the weye,
> Betwixen hevene, erthe, and see,"

is built upon a rock of ice. One side of the rock is engraved

[1] The inevitable resemblance which one finds among accounts of heavenly flights suggests a connection which in some cases is quite unlikely, and in others actually impossible. An example of the first sort is the *Apocalypsis Goliae Episcopi*, in which the poet is borne in the spirit through the air to the entrance of heaven. He sees the mysteries and tells what they signify. (*The Latin poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, collected by Thos. Wright, Camden Soc. Lond. 1841.) An excellent example of the second sort is Lucian's Dialogue between Menippus and a friend. (*The Works of Lucian*, translated by Fowler and Fowler, Oxford, 1905, 4 vols., vol. iii. pp. 126–144.) Menippus tells his friend that he has just come down from Jupiter. The friend prays him to relate how he got up so high. "For I see no such beauty in thy face that, like a second Ganymede, thou shouldst be rapt up into heaven by an eagle to fill out wine to Jupiter." Menippus replies that he had wings of his own. Friend: "In this thou hast put down Daedalus himself." Now Menippus tells of his going up very high and of becoming full of anguish. Empedocles tells him to cast off his vulture wing and to depend on the eagle wing alone. Then he sees a great light, descries cities and men below. Then he proceeds to the dwelling of Jupiter, and after seeing the court is brought back to earth by Mercury.

[2] *La Casa della Fama*, p. 107.

with the names of famous people, but some of the letters of every name have disappeared,

> "So unfamous was wexe hir fame."

The other side is likewise written full of names, and they are

> "As fresshe as men had writen hem there
> The selve day right . . ."

On the top of the rock stands the beautiful dwelling, made of "stone of beryle." Outside the castle-gate in various "habitacles" are "minstrales and gestiours." Orpheus, Orion, Chiron, the Bret Glascurion played on the harp. Behind them are other musicians and trumpeters: Atiteris, dan Pseustis, Marcia, Messenus, Joab and others. Inside the hall sits the goddess, about whose throne is sung heavenly melody. On either side of the throne straight down to the wide doors stand many pillars of metal, on which are placed "folk of digne reverence": Josephus, Statius, Omere, Dares, and Tytus, and "eek he Lollius," etc. Several companies of suppliants now approach the goddess; some wish for fame, others that their works and names should be concealed. She grants as she lists. At the departure of the ninth company, Chaucer hears some one ask his name. The person at his back takes him to the house of tidings. There Chaucer's friend, the eagle, sits on a rock at the entrance. He takes the poet into a building, which is a revolving house built of twigs. Within there is a continual movement: tidings rush hither and thither in their effort to get out in order to ascend to the goddess in her palace. Chaucer goes to a corner where men tell of love-tidings. Here the poem ends.

Many of the fundamental characteristics of the description of the goddess of Fame and of her residence seem to have been applied for the first time to this particular goddess by Chaucer: first, the hill of ice on which the palace rests; second, various particulars of the description of the goddess herself and her court; and third, the structure of the house of tidings, which is a revolving house made of twigs. Now, in view of Chaucer's wide divergence here from the traditional conception of this goddess, a conception made permanent in literature by Virgil and Ovid, it becomes a matter of considerable interest to study the many details of his description in order to account for a rather unusual procedure with Chaucer—a vital modification of a traditional conception. An added interest is attached to the study,

if through the investigation some new light may be thrown on the somewhat obscure problems which are presented to the student of this, the most interesting of Chaucer's vision-poems.

We must first try to determine what position this goddess of Fame held for Chaucer and his contemporaries in the hierarchy of deities with whom the poets of the Middle Ages peopled their world of fancy. For Chaucer, the goddess of Fame evidently had a much greater interest than for other mediæval poets. The most famous deities of the mediæval poets' pantheon were Cupid and Venus, the goddess Nature, and the goddess Fortune. Jupiter was recognized as the overseeing ruler. The goddess of Fame seems rarely to have engaged the attention of poets. An explanation may be offered for this neglect. With the classical poets, this goddess did not hold a very honourable position. She was not primarily a goddess to be worshipped. On the contrary, she was usually a messenger of evil, a teller of bad tidings, and as Virgil says "dea foeda." [1] Hence it is little wonder that the mediæval poets, in their rehabilitation of the classical divinities, should fail to give her a place of honour in their mythological other-world. Chaucer atoned for their neglect by creating in his goddess of Fame one of the most powerful deities of this fanciful realm of gods and goddesses.

What idea of a goddess of Fame did Chaucer have at the time of the composition of his poem? Mainly, it would seem, the conception of the goddess which he found in Virgil and Ovid. With Virgil,[2] Fama is a messenger [3] of evil tidings.

> "Fama, malum, quo non aliud velocius ullum:
> Mobilitate viget, virisque adquirit eundo.
> Parva metu primo; mox sese attollit in auras,
> Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubilas condit.
> . . . . . .
> . . . . . pedibus celerem et pernicibus alis
> Monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui, quot sunt corpore plumae
> Tot vigiles oculi subter, mirabile dictu,
> Tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit aures."

She has no settled abode. Ovid describes her habitation.[4]

[1] *Æneid*, IV. l. 195.
[2] *Ibid.* IV. 173–197; also IX. 473–5.
[3] Fama, as a messenger, goes back to Homer. *Iliad*, II.—Rumour, messenger of Zeus; *Odyssey*, XXIV.—Rumour, the messenger. There was no special Greek divinity of renown or worldly honour. In the *Odyssey*, both Athene and Poseidon are prayed to to give renown (III. 55 ff. and 380 ff.).
[4] *Metamorphoses*, XII. 39–63.

"Orbe locus medio est inter terrasque fretumque
Caelestasque plagas, triplicis confinia mundi:
Unde quod est usquam, quamvis regionibus absit,
Inspicitur, penetratque cavas vox omnis ad aures.
Fama tenet . . .
. . . . . .
Nocte dieque patent. Tota est ex aere sonanti.
. . . . . .
Nulla quies intus, nullaque silentia parte . . .

This Virgilian and Ovidian conception of the goddess persisted through the early centuries of the Christian era and down through the Middle Ages; nor does it seem to have been much, if at all, modified until Chaucer created his wonderful figure. The references that I have found are all conventional. It is not always easy to distinguish between a simple personification and an actual divinity. It is, however, perfectly evident that the authors who mention this figure had no conception of a goddess of worldly honour or renown. Their references point merely to a messenger of tidings.[1] The single exceptions to the above statements are furnished by Boccaccio, who in his *Amorosa Visione*, cap. vi., depicts the figure La Gloria del Mondo, and by Petrarch, who describes a triumph of *Fama*. These figures of Boccaccio and Petrarch are personifications of the abstract idea of fame or renown. Yet I am not sure that Boccaccio (for we may leave out of account for the moment Petrarch's figures) felt any conceivable difference between this figure and the figures of the god of Love and Venus, whom he represents in a green meadow. They were all in a sense divinities, and on the other hand personifications.

As definite representations or portrayals of the goddess of Fame which may have influenced Chaucer in his description of

[1] Mention is made of Fama in Valerius Flaccus, *Argonauticon*, II. 115 ff., also I. ll. 7 and 8; I. l. 177; II. 95 ff.; II. *ante* 560; V. 82; VI. 137; in Statius, *Thebaïd*, IX. ll. 32–35, also XII. 105–6 and 812–13; in Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, XI. p. 235 (Trans., Lond. 1753). In Claudianus, *De Laudibus Stilichonis*, II. ll. 55 ff.; also II. 408; his *De Consulatu Fl. Mallii Theodori Panegyris*, vv. 270 ff.; in Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, I. p. 6, p. 19, and II. p. 27 (Lipsiae, 1866); in a letter to Hugues, given by Migne, *Patr. Lat.* CLXII. col. 83, 84 (see E. Langlois, *Orig. et Sources*, p. 39 n.); in Alanus de Insulis, *Anti-Claudianus*, VII. cap. ii. p. 385 (*Anglo-Lat. Satirical Poets*, vol. ii.); in *Pamphilus de Amore*, V. 255, 256, 293, 294, 417, 419; in Symon de Covino, *De Judicio Solis*, ll. 7 ff.; in *Le Roman de Troie*, ll. 4299 ff., ll. 4753 ff.; in *La Teseide*, I. 21 ff.; 62 ff., 85 ff. (personification here); XII. 9, 12 (here Boccaccio speaks of Fame in the modern sense); Deschamps, *De la Poeterie et Fiction*, *Oeuvres*, vol. viii. pp. 212, fol., l. 63.

the goddess and her home, we have, then, merely the conception of Ovid and Virgil of a goddess of tidings, and the descriptions by Boccaccio and Petrarch of a goddess (if we may call her by that name) of renown. Let us at first see what elements of Chaucer's description and characterization are due to these earlier conceptions of a goddess of Fame.

A certain indebtedness to Virgil and Ovid is at once apparent. Chaucer's idea of the functions of the goddess Fame, as expressed in the first and second books of his poem, is based entirely on Virgil.[1] She is a wicked goddess, swift in flight, a teller of tidings.[2]

In the second book and in the latter part of the third book, Chaucer tells something of the situation of the House of Fame, and describes the interior. Here he is indebted to Ovid.[3] The palace stands

> "Right even in middes of the weye,
> Betwixen hevene, erthe and see."[4]

It is full of tidings.[5] It is important for our purpose to observe that Chaucer's primary conception of the goddess and her residence, as set forth briefly in the first and second books, is perfectly consonant with classical tradition. Not until he comes to the actual description of the goddess and her residence in the third book does he depart from his authorities. And even here he has by no means forgotten what he has learned of Fama from his "owne book" and from Virgil.

Of Virgil's description of the person of the goddess, Chaucer preserves a few details. The italicised words in the following passages will indicate the extent of Chaucer's adherence to the Virgilian model.

H. of F., 1369–1392:—

Me thoughte that *she was so lyte*
That the lengthe of a cubyte
Was lenger than she semed be;
But *thus sone, in a whyle, she*
Hir tho so wonderliche streighte,
That with hir feet she erthe reighte,
And with hir head she touched hevene,
Ther as shynen sterres sevene.
And therto eek, as to my wit,
I saugh a gretter wonder yit,
Upon hir eyen to beholde;
But certeyn I hem never tolde;
For as fele eyen hadde she
As fetheres upon foules be,
Or weren on the bestes foure,
That goddes trone gunne honoure,
As John writ in thapocalips.

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[1] *Æneid*, IV. 173–197.
[2] *H. of F.*, I. 349–352; II. 703–5.
[3] *Met.*, XII. 39–63.
[4] *H. of F.*, II. 714–15.
[5] *H. of F.*, II. 617–698; 1025–1031; III. 2034 ff. Ll. 1074–1082 are but a slight modification of Ovid, *Met.*, XII. 53–58.

Hir here, that oundy was and crips,
As burned gold hit shoon to see.
And soth to tellen, also she
Had also *fele up-stonding eres*
And tanges, as on bestes heres;
And on her feet waxen, saugh I,
Partriches winges redely."

The reminiscences of Ovid's account of Fame's residence are much more important and prominent. With Chaucer, however, Fame occupies a different kind of palace, and Ovid's Palace of Fame becomes merely an appendage to the actual residence of the goddess.[1] Many of the striking details of Ovid's description are preserved. If the lines may be abstracted bodily, the extent of Chaucer's indebtedness will be indicated here with comparative exactness.

H. of F., iii. 1945–7:—

And eek this hous hath of entrees
As fele as leves ben on trees
In somer . . . . . .

1951–58—

And by day, in every tyde,
Ben al the dores open wyde,
And by night, echon, unshette;
Ne porter ther is non to lette
No maner tydings in to pace;
Ne never rest is in that place,
That hit nis fild ful of tydinges,
Other loude or of whispringes;

2034–2036—

But which a congregacioun
Of folk, as I saugh rome aboute,
Some within and some withoute

2043–2048—

And every wight that I saugh there
Rouned ech in otheres ere
A newe tydinge prevely
Or elles tolde al openly
Right thus, and seyde, 'Nost not thou
That is betid, lo, late or now?'

2060–2067—

Whan oon had herd a thing, y-wis,
He com forthright to another wight,
And gan him tellen, anoon-right,
The same (thing) that him was told,
Or hit a furlong way was old,
But gan som-what for to eche
To this tyding in this speche
More than hit ever was.

[1] The situation of the house and the palace reminds one, of course, of the temple and the palace which form the residence or "place" of a divinity.

2072–2075—

> *Were the tyding soth or fals,*
> *Yit wolde he telle it nathcless,*
> *And evermo with more encrees*
> *Than hit was erst. . . .*

We have here, as concisely as may be given, the influence which Ovid and Virgil exerted on Chaucer in his imaginative portrayal of the goddess of Fame and her residence. This influence is evidenced in his primary conception of the goddess, modified vitally in his actual description in the third book; in a few details of the personal appearance of the goddess; in his placing the house of the goddess in mid-air; and most prominently in his account of the "interior" of the house of tidings. The reason for his manifest departure from the classical tradition, and the nature of his new conception of the goddess will appear later.

We must now consider the second portrayal of a goddess of Fame which may have had some influence on Chaucer's description—that of La Gloria del Mondo in Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione*.[1] In his vision, the poet enters a hall in the castle and there finds painted on the wall the figure of the goddess:—

"Odi: che mai natura con sua arte
Forma non diede a si bella figura . . .
Donna pareva la leggiadra e pura.
Tutti li soprastava veramente
Di ricche pietre coronata e d'oro,
Nell' aspetto magnanima e possente:
Ardita sopra un carro tra costoro
Grande e trionfal lieta sedea,
Ornata tutto di frondi d'alloro,
Mirando questa gente: in man tenea
Una spada tagliente, con la quale
Che'l mondo minacciasse mi parea.
Il suo vestire a guisa imperiale
Era, e teneva nella man sinestra
Un pomo d'oro: e'n trono alle reale
Vidi sedeva, e dalla sua man destra
Due cavalli eran che col petto forte
Traeano il carro tra la gente alpestra
. . . . . .
Era sopra costei e non invano,
Scritto un verso che dicea leggendo
Io son la Gloria del popol mondano."[2]

---

[1] Cap. vi. 43 ff. The possibility of influence from Petrarch seems too remote to warrant consideration.

[2] Cf. Petrarchus, *Triumphus Famae*, I., ed. C. Appel, Halle, 1901. I quote a few lines:—

> "Così venia Ed, o! di quali scoli
> Verrà il maestro che discriva a pieno
> Quel ch'io vo'dire in simplici parole?
> Era d'intorno il ciel tanto sereno
> Che pur tutto il desir ch'ardea nel core
> L'occhio mio non potea non venir meno.
> Scolpito per le fronti era il valore
> De l'onorata gente, dov' io scorsi
> Molti di quei che legar vidi Amore."

There are two respects in which this portrayal of Boccaccio's may have influenced Chaucer: (1) in the details of the description of the appearance of the goddess; (2) as to his idea of a goddess of *Renown*. The former consideration may concern us little. Dr. E. Koeppel[1] attempts to show that Chaucer used some details of Boccaccio's description; and Dr. Child,[2] in speaking of Koeppel's paper, says, "Koeppel's parallels (reference is here made only to the *Hous of Fame*) identify in a very interesting way the Lady Fame of Chaucer with Boccaccio's Gloria del popol mondano." There is nothing whatever in common between the descriptions of Boccaccio and Chaucer, except that in each reference is made to a goddess (in Boccaccio merely a personification) sitting on her royal throne. Koeppel first compares lines 43, 44 and 48 of cap. vi. with *Hous of Fame*, ll. 1364 ff.:—

> "I saugh perpetually y-stalled,
> A feminyne creature;
> That never formed by nature
> Nas swiche another thing y-seye."

It will be seen that Boccaccio says that *Nature never* gave form to such a creature, and that Chaucer declares that she is a *unique* work of *nature*. Yet, if the unlikelihood of any influence here needs to be strengthened, it may be done by assembling several of these phrases—phrases which abound in the visions or other love-poems of the Middle Ages.

Watriquet de Couvin, *Li Miroirs as Dames*, ll. 54 ff. The poet sees a beautiful creature,

> "Et la plus blanche au droit costé;
> Rien n'en avoit Nature osté
> Toute y estoit biautez entiere."

Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Dit du Vergier*, p. 13:—

> "Et ce fu droit, qu'onques Nature,
> En créer nulle créature
> Ne mist si très toute s'entente
> Comme à sa douce façon gente."

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[1] *Anglia*, XIV. (2) pp. 227–267. Signor Cino Chiarini (*La Casa della Fama*, 1902, p. 54) further thinks that the source of Chaucer's idea of the House of Fame is to be found in cantos iv. and v. of the *Amorosa Visione*. "Ma la fonte diretta," he says, "qui è piutosto da ricercare nei canti iv. and v. *de l'Amor. Vis.*, in cui è allargarto e sciupato, con lunghe e noiose variazioni, il motivo originale di *Dante* nel iv. *dell' Inferno*."

[2] *Mod. Lang. Notes* (Baltimore), vol. x. pp. 190–192.

Cf. also Chrestien von Troyes, *Ivain*, ll. 1492–1500 :—

> "Onques mes ci desmesurer
> Au biauté ne se pot Nature ;
> Que trespassee i a mesure,
> . . . . . .
> Ja la fist Deus de sa main nue
> Por Nature feire muser."[1]

The appearance of Boccaccio's La Gloria and her situation are in most respects so very different that it is hardly necessary to consider the other verbal commonplaces in Boccaccio to which Koeppel finds parallels in Chaucer.[2] I feel little force even in a parallelism of minute details between Chaucer's lines 1360–1, 1364–5 and 1393–4, and Boccaccio's lines, *Am. Vis.*, VI. 49, 50, 58–61. The resemblances have no cumulative force if there is no significance in the separate details. Koeppel's suggested parallelism between *H. of F.*, 1364, and *Amorosa Visione*, VI. 43, 44, and 48, has been shown to have no value. The resemblance of *H. of F.*, 1344–6—the hall is plated half a foot thick with gold—to *Amorosa Visione*, IV. 9, a hall resplendent with gold, is by no means striking.[3] The use of gold in mediæval descriptions of imaginary buildings and their parts was so conventional that it is unnecessary to give examples to show the uselessness of this comparison.

Koeppel further compares *H. of F.*, 1360–1, 1364–5, 1393–4, with *Amorosa Visione*, VI. 49, 50, 58–61 :—

H. of F. :—

> But all on hye, above a dees,
> Sitte in a see imperial,
> . . . . . .
> I saugh perpetually y-stalled
> A feminyne creature ;
> But Lord ! the perrie and the richesse
> I saugh sitting on this goddesse !"

Chaucer's obligations to Boccaccio in these particulars are very doubtful. Suggestions may have come to the poet just as

[1] For additional references, see Osgood, *The Pearl*, p. 83.

[2] For a further discussion of the appearance of the goddess, see Part II. pp. 66–67.

[3] Cf. the description of Solomon's temple, 1 Kings vi. 30 : "And the floor of the house he overlaid with gold, within and without." Also the golden palace of the Lord of the Island of Chipangu described by Marco Polo, ii. pp. 253–4 (*Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. by Sir Henry Yule, 2 vols. Lond. 1903). "You must know that he had a great palace which is entirely roofed with fine gold, just as our churches are roofed with lead, insomuch that it could scarcely be possible to estimate its value. Moreover, all the pavement of the palace and the floors of its chambers are entirely of gold, in plates like slabs of stone, a good two fingers thick . . ."

well from other sources. I may add a further phrase from Boethius' description of Philosophy:—

Lib. I. Pr. i. p. 3: "At ego, cuius acies lacrimis mersa caligaverat ne dinoscere possem, quaenam haec esset mulier tam inperiosae auctoritatis."[1]

A much closer parallel to Chaucer's description than that presented in the *Amorosa Visione* is found in the *Architrenius*, Lib. VIII. p. 369 (description of Nature):—

Proclives oculus levat Architrenius, instar
Sideris ardescens mulier spectatur. . . .
Matronatur honos, levitatem nulla fatetur
Portio, nec quatitur gestu petulante, gravescit
Tota . . . . . .
. . . . . .
Illasciva sedet, quovis reverenda corusco
Imperiosa throno, quem lactea crine coronat
Turba senum, dominae genibus minor ardua sedes
Est illos aequasse pedes, plenaque licemur
Nobilitate deae summum contingere calcem."

The second possibility—that Boccaccio's La Gloria may have been influential in modifying Chaucer's *conception* of the classical goddess Fama—deserves more consideration. The weight of the probabilities must be the chief means of forming our judgment. In favour of some influence from Boccaccio is the uniqueness in literature of the figure of a goddess of renown; the fact that both poems are visions whose form and subject-matter are determined largely by the love-vision *genre;* the probability that Chaucer knew and used the *Amorosa Visione.* But the weight of these observations is overbalanced by the consideration that the abstract idea of worldly fame[2] must have been at this time running through Chaucer's mind, and by the evidence (to mention but one contributory influence) which is offered by the main elements of the third book of a close affinity of Chaucer's goddess of Renown with the goddess Fortune—an association which indicates a direction from which there might easily come a modification of his original conception and an extension of the attributes of Fortune. Chaucer would be very unlikely to go to Boccaccio for the *idea* of a goddess of renown. If we admit, as I think we must, that Chaucer

[1] The appearance of Philosophy, in other respects, is similar to Chaucer's goddess (see Part II. p. 67, n. 2).

[2] The close connection in some of Chaucer's "authors" of the *idea* of fame with that of fortune must also be borne in mind.

had reflected upon the idea of fame, and if furthermore we find that no common details in the description of Boccaccio's La Gloria and Chaucer's goddess are unique, the possibility of any influence on the English poet from Boccaccio's portrayal is practically done away with. There were, as we shall see later, other considerations which determined Chaucer's representation of the divinity who was to be an embodiment of the elusiveness, the transitoriness, and the uncertainty of fame, of worldly honour.

A difficulty in the way of accepting the positive theory of the influence of the abstract idea of fame is caused by the fact that not until the third book of the poem does Chaucer's conception of the goddess show the influence of this idea. In the first two books, she is a goddess of rumour, and her home is a house of tidings. How may we account for the fact that this idea of fame or renown does not assert itself until the beginning of the third book? The answer to this question has been given in the first part of this essay (pp. 16–17), and I may now briefly recur to it. I have indicated there that the *Hous of Fame* is not, primarily at least, a poem written by Chaucer to set forth the result of his reflections on fame or worldly honour.[1] It is, I believe, a poem written in the manner of and under the very decided influence of that body of mediæval literature which we designate as love-vision poetry. Chaucer's intention was merely to write a vision-poem bearing upon the popular theme of the worship of Love. For his service to the god of Love he is to be rewarded by a visit to the House of Fame, where he shall hear much of Love's servants. This is the idea of the poem which is emphasized throughout.[2] Even in the presence of his ample modification of his primary idea, the original conception of a house of tidings is by no means lost sight of. The goddess of Fame gives a name to each tiding. The house of tidings is the goal of his journey. The reason for Chaucer's modification of his original conception of the goddess, and for the assertion of this idea of fame or renown, has been accounted for with some show of probability in Part I. The extent of the influence of

[1] The question of the meaning of the poem, which is suggested by this observation, will have an ample discussion in Part IV. I am now endeavouring merely to explain the interesting features of the third book, and any reference to the poem as a whole is made with respect solely to the necessities of the situation.

[2] II. ll. 606–698; III. ll. 1885–1889, ll. 2140–2154.

the abstract idea of fame is necessarily somewhat indeterminate. A careful study of the striking characteristics of the third book[1] may throw some light on the matter. It will surely help us to determine in general what forces were operative on Chaucer's mind in the formation of this complete picture of the dwelling, appearance, and attributes of the goddess Fama.

If the theory previously advanced in this paper be true, to the effect that Chaucer's poem was conceived in the manner of the love-visions, and furthermore that his conception of the goddess in the third book is due in part to the actual representation of two particular goddesses who are so often portrayed in these love-visions, we should expect to find that the actual description of the goddess of Fame and her "place" embodies many of the noteworthy characteristics of these divinities. Such an expectation will be borne out by the following investigation. We shall also be able to determine with greater exactness than has hitherto been done, the sources of some phases of the conceptions at least, and probably of much of the actual material of Chaucer's essentially original portrayal.

The Rock of Ice.—Various suggestions have been made to explain Chaucer's use of a *rock of ice* on which to build his palace. Dr. A. Rambeau, in the 11th section of his article,[2] says, "Der Eisfelsen auf dessen Spitze Chaucer das Ziel seiner Luftreise den Palast oder das Haus des Ruhmes erblickt, ist in manchem Hinsicht analog dem Berg der Reinigung auf dessen Gipfel Dante und Virgil das irdische Paradies finden . . . Der Fels des *Hous of Fame* und der Berg der göttlichen Comödie sind beide hoch und steil, und schwer zu steigen." Rambeau's explanation is supported by Professor Skeat's statement that "Chaucer's steep rock (l. 1130) corresponds to Dante's steep rock" (*Purg.* III. 46–48.)[3] This is one of the many detailed resemblances between the *Divine Comedy* and the *Hous of Fame* which Rambeau presents as evidence to confirm his theory, or rather ten Brink's theory, that Chaucer's poem is an imitation of Dante's poem. As the general theory has been disproved,[4] this suggested resem-

[1] See p. 104. [2] *Op. cit.* pp. 209 ff.

[3] *Minor Poems*, 2nd ed. p. lxxi, notes. The lines from Dante are :—

"Noi divenimmo intanto al piè del monte :
Quivi trovammo la roccia sì erta,
Che indarno vi sarien le gambe pronte."

[4] See Part II.

blance must stand or fall by its own virtue. Dante's rock is not a rock of ice. This is the peculiar characteristic of Chaucer's hill. So many mountains in the vision-poetry of the middle ages are "hoch und steil und schwer zu steigen" that Chaucer's indebtedness to Dante cannot be accepted, unless we shall find peculiar qualities of the two mountains.

Another explanation for Chaucer's rock which I may mention is that given by Dr. A. C. Garrett,[1] who believes that Chaucer's suggestion for the eagle's flight through the air to the rock of ice comes from a combination of the folk-tale motives of an eagle and a glass-mountain. This theory, like Rambeau's theory of the resemblance of the poem to the *Divine Comedy*, is untenable. The glass-mountain by itself has no more points of similarity with Chaucer's rock of ice than has Dante's rock of purification. As Mr. Garrett says on p. 174, the two motives—the eagle and the glass-mountain—must stand or fall together. The extreme unlikelihood of any influence on Chaucer from these folk-tale elements has been before set forth,[2] and it is unnecessary to emphasize further the dissimilarity between Chaucer's rock of ice and the glass-mountain of the folk-tales.[3]

Continuing our study of the possible sources of Chaucer's rock of ice, we may regard for a moment the actual mountains of ice, as well as mountains from which proceed great heat and cold, in the Visions of Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven. The monk of Eynsham describes thus the second place of punishment: "Duo erant montes nubium altitudinem suis apicibus attingentes. . . . . De radicibus montis unius flamma surgebat, quae usque ad sidera pertingere videbatur. De pede vero montis, oppositi tanta rigebat frigoris immanitas nivis et grandinis procellis intercurrentibus . . ."[4] In the first circle in the Vision of Alberic, there is a terrible valley filled with innumerable mountains of ice, the summit of which the eye can scarcely see.[5] In the Vision of Tundale[6] is mentioned a very high mountain, on one side full

[1] Studies on Chaucer's *Hous of Fame; Harv. Stud. and Notes*, v. 151–176: a further source suggested.

[2] Part III. chap. iv. pp. 90 ff.

[3] A mountain in a folk-tale cited by Mr. Garrett (Campbell, No. 16, vol. iv. pp. 292 ff.) seems to be of ice—"a prince being pursued takes refuge on a mountain covered with glass (or ice) in winter."

[4] See M. Huber, *Beitrag zur Visions Literatur*, Part I. 1903, p. 9.

[5] *Visio Alberici*, ed. by Catello de Vivo, Ariano, 1899, iii. p. 16. Cf. also in cap. lxx. 1. of the *Book of Enoch*: "In the midst of the light from the rivers of fire, a building raised with stones of ice."

[6] See E. J. Becker, *Mediæval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, p. 83.

of fire and smoke, on the other a windy and stormy waste of ice and snow.[1]

Little in the nature of definite evidence seems forthcoming from the study of the mountain by itself.[2] Secondary suggestions may have come to Chaucer from one or another of these references. But for any satisfactory explanation of this rock of ice, we must consider it in connection with the palace on its summit and the goddess who dwells therein. The house is the important thing for Chaucer; the nature of the site a secondary matter. Chaucer had first to decide about his goddess and her palace. The goal of his journey, it may be said, was not the top of the mountain. He was being carried to the house of the goddess. The source of the site, in my mind, is intimately associated with the sources of the goddess and her home. The explanation of the hill of ice may therefore be undertaken in connection with our study of the goddess, and of the feature of her dwelling which seems to be most striking—the court with its band of suppliants.

The Hill of Ice—the Goddess and her Court.

The composite nature of Chaucer's complete description of the goddess of Fame and her abode is at once apparent. In fact, it

[1] There is a vague resemblance between the two sides of the mountain here and the two sides of Chaucer's rock of ice. In another vision—the Vision of a Poor Woman (Wattenbach, Deutschlands Geschichtes Quellen, etc. 5th ed., Berlin, 1885, p. 261)—there is a more interesting reference. The woman sees a high wall which reaches up to heaven, and yet another which is written upon with golden letters. The wall surrounds the Earthly Paradise. On this wall stands the name of King Bernhard written with clear letters; that of King Ludwig is quite "undeutlich und verwischt." The guide says that before the murder of King B. no name had been more distinguished than that of Ludwig. A reference which includes the idea of the names being effaced by the weather, is found in "De tre monaci che zeno a lo Paradiso terrestro" in MS. de la Bibl. du roi du XV^e^ siècle, No. 7762, cited by Ozanam, *Études sur les Sources Poétiques de la Divina Comédie*, p. 35. "When the monks returned they found their names half-effaced by the weather in the *obituaires* of the house." Professor Skeat offers the following note to l. 1152 (*Minor Poems*, 2nd ed. p. 347):—"This suggests that Chaucer in his travels had observed a snow-clad mountain: the snow lies much lower on the north side than on the south side—see ll. 1160 and 1663–4."

Cf. also Ralph Higden, *Polycronicon*, Lib. I. cap. xxiii. p. 184—"In hac provincia [Macedonia] est mons Olympus, qui dividit Thraciam et Macedoniam. Mons quidem nubes excedens, in cujus vertice nec nubes nec venti nec pluviae sentiuntur, super quem litterae inscriptae in pulvere post annum repertae sunt illibatae . . ."

Scala Celi—(*Harvard College*, Lib. 25231. 29), p. 56: a clerk of unclean life sees in a vision his name written often in the Book of Life, and as often blotted out on account of his sins.

[2] I may add here some additional references—"Ida gelida" in Claudian's *In Eutropium*, Lib. II. 279 ff.; The Mount of Ambition, *Architrenius*, p. 292; the perilous mountain in Jean de Condé's *Dit d'Entendement*, ll. 124 ff., *Dits et Contes*, vol. iii. p. 53.

is so composite that one naturally despairs of finding an actual source or actual sources for this imaginative portrayal. Yet, if the conclusions which were reached in our study of the relations of the *Hous of Fame* to love-vision poetry be sound, we have a basis upon which we may proceed to explain at least some of the characteristic features of this picture. That basis is the influence which was exerted by the figures of the goddesses of Love and Fortune, and concomitantly, the influence of the abstract idea of fame or worldly honour, which rises in the mind so naturally in connection with thoughts of the dealings of Fortune. To a discussion of these influences we may now proceed.

1. The Influence of the Fortune Material.
2. The influence of the Love Material.

The influence of the Fortune material is shown, first, I believe, in the site which Chaucer gives to his palace. The interesting details of his representation of the hill of ice follow.

At line 1115, Chaucer approaches the "place" of Fame, which as he says—

". . . stood upon so *high a roche,*
Hyer stant ther noon in Spaine.
. . . . . .
Yit I ententif " (he continues)
" *was to see,*
. . . . . .
What maner stoon this roche was;
For *hit was lyk a thing of glas,*
But that it shoon ful more clere.
. . . . . .
But at the last espied I,
And found that hit was, every del,
A *roche of yse, and not of steel.*
Thought I, 'By Seynt Thomas of Kent!
This were a *feble foundement*
To bilden on a *place hye,*'
. . . . . .
Tho saw I *al the half y-grave*
With famous folkes names fele,
. . . . . .
But wel unethes coude I know
Any lettres for to rede
Her names by: for, out of drede,
They were *almost of-thowed so,*
That of the lettres oon or two
Were molte away of every name,
So unfamous was wexe hir fame;
But men seyn, 'What may ever laste?'
Tho gan I in myn herte caste,
That they were molte *away with hete,*
And not away *with stormes bete.*
For on *that other syde, I sey*
Of this hille, that northward lay,
How *hit was writen ful of names*
Of *folk that hadden grete fames*
Of olde tyme, and yit they were
As *fresshe as men had writen hem there*
The selve day right. . . .
. . . . . .
But wel I wiste what it made;
Hit was *conserved with the shade*
. . . . . .
Of a castel, stood on hy;
And stood eek on *so colde a place,*
That hete mighte hit not deface."

This rock of ice with some of its peculiarities goes back almost unmistakably to the descriptions of the House of Fortune, which

were not uncommon with mediæval poets. Indeed, one may with much assurance feel safe in saying that, at least for the material itself, it goes back to one particular description—that by Nicole de Margival in his love-vision entitled *La Panthère d'Amours*.[1] The reason for this definite ascription does not, of course, depend merely on the fact that here in *La Panthère* is a rock of ice. We have had other instances of ice-mountains in vision-literature with which Chaucer was doubtless acquainted. But it depends on the very decided probability—more than once before asserted and yet to be strengthened by proof—of a strong influence on Chaucer's whole portrayal of the goddess of Fame and her "place" from the qualities and attributes which had become attached to the goddess of Fortune.

I shall give here only the part of the description of Fortune's "maison" in *La Panthère* which seems to be related to Chaucer's rock of ice.

Ll. 1961 ff.—

" Venismes droit a la maison
De Fortune l'aventureuse.
Moult est *la maison perilleuse,*
Car elle *siet toute sus glace,*[2]
Qui *dure quel temps que il face ;*
Mais *moult belle est d'une partie,*
Et noble et de tous biens garnie ;
De *l'autre partie est si gaste*
Que nul n'i a ne pain ne paste,
Et est ruineuse et deserte.
Si despeciée, si desperte,
Que *s'il espartist, pleut ou vente,*
Nulz ne mest la qui ne s'en sente ;
Car *la pluie, vens et espars*
Se *fierent ens de toutes pars.*"

Here is not only the material for the site of the "place" of the goddess of Fame, but also some possible suggestions for other aspects of Chaucer's description. The two sides of the House of Fortune—one very beautiful, the other ruinous—certainly have a kinship with the two sides of Chaucer's rock. Then may not the perilous nature of the House of Fortune, "la maison perilleuse" because it rests on ice, and the beating of storms against it, have reminiscences in Chaucer's "feble foundement," and in his declaration that the names of famous people were not removed by "stormes bete"?[3] For these qualities, however, other than that

[1] Ed. by H. A. Todd, Paris, 1883.

[2] There was a temple of the goddess Fortuna at Praeneste—frigidum Praeneste, according to Horace, situated on a steep and lofty hill, cool even in very hot weather. With this idea of the coldness of the place of Fortune, cf. Chaucer's lines—

" And stood eek on so colde a place
That hete mighte hit not deface."

[3] The latter line may have been inserted merely for the rhyme, as was probably the second half of l. 1130—a rock of yse *and not of steel.* Yet even here

of the material, Chaucer would be equally influenced by other accounts of the House of Fortune. We may compare, for instance, *Le Roman de la Rose*.[1]

Ll. 6657 ff.—

"*Une roche* est en *mer séans*,
Moult parfont ou milieu léans,
Qui sus la mer en haut se lance,
Contre qui la mer grouce et tance:"
. . . . . .

There is a wood, of which some trees are good, others bad; two streams, one pure, the other ill-savoured.

Ll. 6815 ff.—

"En haut, ou chief de la montaingne,
Ou pendant, non pas en la plaingne,
Menaçant tous jors trébuchance,
Preste de recevoir chéance,
Descent la maison de Fortune;
Si n'est rage de vent nésune
Ne torment qu'il puissent offrir,
Qu'il ne li conviengne soffrir.
Là reçoit de toutes tempestes
Et les assaus et les molestes;
. . . . . .
L'une partie de la sale
Va contremont, et l'autre avale;
. . . . . .
Moult reluit d'une part, car gent
I sunt li mur d'or et d'argent.
. . . . . .
D'autre part sunt li mur de boe
Qui n'ont pas d'espès plaine paume,
S'est toute coverte de chaume."[2]

Anti-Claudianus, Book VII. cap. viii.[3]—

"Est rupes maris in medio, quam verberat aequor
Assidue, cum qua corrixans litigat unda."

and Book VIII. cap. i.—

"Rupis in abrupta suspensa, minansque ruinam,
Fortunae domus in praeceps descendit, et omnem
Ventorum patitur rabiem, coelique procellas
Sustinet. . . .
. . . . . .
Pars in monte tumet, pars altera vallis in imo
Subsidet, et casum tanquam lapsura minatur,
Fulgurat argento, gemmis scintillat, et auro
Resplendet pars una domus, pars altera vili
Materie dejecta jacet; pars ipsa superbit
Culmine sublimi, pars illa fatiscit hiatu.
Hic est Fortunae sua mansio. . . ."

The likelihood of some influence on Chaucer's description of his

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there may be a reminiscence of some actual steel construction. Cf. the Palace of Mars in *La Teseide*, VII. 32, which is

"d'acciaio splendido e pulio,
Dal quale era dal sol reverberata
La luce. . . ."

[1] Ed. by F. Michel, Paris, 1864, 2 vols.

[2] Cf. the splendid palace of Fortune in *Diu Crone*, ll. 15660 ff., ed. by G. H. F. Scholl, Stuttgart, 1852.

[3] *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Thos. Wright, 2 vols. Lond. 1872, pp. 396 and 399.

rock of ice from the House of Fortune may be strengthened by a comparison of the qualities here attributed to Fame with those usually assigned to Fortune. The study will further lead to a clearer understanding of the origin of Chaucer's divinity. What are the characteristic qualities of the goddess of Fame? We may consider some extracts from the poem.

Ll. 1538 ff. Her treatment of the first band of suppliants—

> "And somme of hem she graunted sone,
> And somme she werned wel and faire;
> And somme she graunted the contraire
> Of her axing utterly.
> But thus (says Chaucer) I sey you trewely
> What her cause was, I niste."[1]

They ask for good renown. She replies, ll. 1559 ff.:

> "I werne you hit . . .
> Ye gete of me good fame non,
> By God! and therefor go your way
> . . . . . .
> For me list hit nought."

To the second band, she grants that they shall have cursed fame. To the third company she says:

> "And yit ye shul han better loos,
> Right in despyte of all your foos,
> Than worthy is: . . . ."

For the sixth company she commands Eolus to blow, ll. 1767–8:

> "That every man wene hem at ese,
> Though they gon in full badde lese."

To the eighth company, who hath done great harm and wickedness, and who wished good renown, she says, ll. 1819 ff.:

> "Nay, wis . . . hit were a vice;
> Al be ther in me no Justice,
> Me liste not to do hit now."

From these extracts we derive our knowledge of her character and attributes. She grants as she lists, according to impulse or caprice. To some people who deserve good fame she gives evil fame; to others, none at all; to some who deserve evil fame, she gives good renown. To others she grants that they shall have better renown than they deserve. There is no justice in her. Everything depends on chance, on the mood in which she may

[1] Boethius in Book IV. Prosa 5 of the *Consolation* wonders why good people are oppressed and bad people prosper. "Minus etenim mirarer, si misceri omnia fortuitis casibus crederem. Nunc stuporem meum deus rector exaggerat, qui cum saepe bonisi ocunda, malis aspera, contraque bonis dura tribuat, malis optata concedat; nisi causa deprehendatur, quid est quod a fortuitis casibus differre videatur?"

happen to be. Now, just these qualities are characteristic of the goddess Fortune.

In Jean de Meung's part of the *Roman de la Rose* occurs not only the description of the House of Fortune, which was given above, but also a lengthy discussion of her dealings with men. A few extracts from this work will define, in a limited way, mainly as it concerns us here, the mediæval conception of this goddess.

R. of R., ll. 4590 ff.—

"Ce est ausine cum de Fortune
Qui met ou cuer des gens rancune ;
Autre hore les aplaine et chue
En poi d'ore son semblant mue.
Une hore rit, autre hore est morne,
Ele a une roe qui torne,
Et quant ele veut, ele met
Le plus bas amont ou sommet,
Et celi qui est sor la roe
Reverse à un tor en la boe."

ll. 6637 ff.—

"Lesse-li sa roe torner,
Qu'el torne adès sans séjorner,
Et siet ou milieu comme avugle.
Les uns de richesces avugle ;
Et d'onors et de dignetés ;
As autres done povretés,
Et quant li plaist tout en reporte ;"

ll. 6901 ff.—

"Et por ce qu'ele *est si perverse,*
Que les bons en le boe verse,
Et les déshonore grièvе,
Et les mauvès en haut eslièvе,
Et lor donne à grans habondances
Dignetés, honors et poissances,
Puis, quant li plaist, lor tolt et emble,
Et que Fortune ainsinc le face,
Que les bons avile et esface
Et les mauvès en honor tiengne :"

ll. 7079 ff.—

"Or vois comme Fortune sert
Cà-jus en ce mondain désert,
Et comment el fait à despire,
Qui des mauvès eslit le pire,
Et sus tous homes le fist estre
De ce monde seignor et mestre,
Et fist Sénèque ainsinc destruire.
Fait donques bien sa grâce à fuire
Quant nus, tant soit de bon éur,
Ne la puet tenir asséur.
Por ce voil que tu la desprises,
Et que sa grace rien ne prises."

ll. 7289 ff.—Phanie speaks to Crésus :—

"Si destruit-ele [Fortune] maint prodome
Qu'el ne prise pas une pomе
Tricherie, ne loiauté,
Ne vil estat, ne roiauté ;
Ainçois s'en joe à la pelote,
Comme pucele nice et sote,
Et giete à grant désordenance
Richesce, honor et révérance ;
Dignités et poissance done,
Ne ne prent garde à quel persone :
Car ses graces, quant les despent,
En despendant si les espent,
Que les giete en leu de poties,
Par putiaus et enfangeries ;"[1]

[1] It seems unnecessary to multiply quotations from mediæval writers. Fortune, either as a divinity or as a personified abstraction, was very frequently referred to in all sorts of writings. I may refer to *La Panthère d'Amours*, ll. 1928 ff. ; Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione*, chaps. xxxi., xxxvii.

Accepting for the moment these resemblances between Chaucer's goddess of Fame and the conventional goddess of Fortune for what they are obviously worth, we may now consider further evidence tending to show that Chaucer had this latter figure very clearly in mind when he was creating his unique divinity.[1]

(1) Several passages in the poem point pretty definitely back to Fortune and her qualities. The castle-gate (ll. 1297–8)—

> "And yit hit was by aventure
> Y-wrought, as often as by cure."

The suppliants (ll. 1545 ff.)—

> "They hadde good fame ech deserved,
> Althogh they were diversly served;
> Right as her suster, dame Fortune,
> Is wont to serven in comune."

l. 1631, Chaucer uses *aventures* in the sense of hard-hap.

The house of tidings, ll. 1981 ff.—

> "Yet hit is founded to endure
> Whyl that hit list to Aventure;[2]
> That is the moder of tydinges,
> As the see of welles and springes."

(2) The close connection in Boethius of the discussion of fame or worldly honour and of the vicissitudes of Fortune affords further evidence for the influence of the Fortune material in Chaucer's description of the goddess of Fame and her dwelling.

Li Romanz de la Poire, 25 ff.; *Anti-Claudianus*, Lib. VIII. cap. i. pp. 399 ff.; Baudouin de Condé's *Li Prisons d'Amours*, ll. 839 ff. Cf. also *La Teseide*, I. 11 and 12; III. 59–60; 63, 68, 72, 75–6, 78, 84; IV. 11 and 12, 23–4; 39–42; 60 ff.; 80–86, ll. 7 and 8, 89, ll. 1–4; VI. 31, ll. 7–8; IX., 1. In one place, ll. 6649 ff., Jean de Meung says that Fortune should not be called a goddess. Cf. the mere elevated position which Dante ascribes to her (*Inf.* VII. ll. 86–7).

[1] In this study of the influence of the goddess of Fortune, one must ever be mindful that Chaucer would necessarily have to exercise largely the power of selection. Fortune has qualities which could not in any way belong to the goddess of Fame. But Fame, according to Chaucer, is the sister of Fortune, and as such might naturally possess some characteristics in common with the more powerful and terrible goddess. So, I believe, Chaucer considers his material. It would be absurd to build the House of Fame in accordance with the prevailing traditions as to the House of Fortune. On the other hand, some of the qualities of Fortune and some of the characteristics of her dwelling may with the greatest propriety be so adapted as to accord with the peculiar attributes of the goddess of Fame.

[2] Aventure is here used in two senses: first, that of chance or hap; second, that of adventure, a development or logical result often of the former meaning. The reference to Aventure here will have greater significance when we shall observe later the connection between Fortune and Aventure, and that between these two figures and Love.

For, as I have heretofore urged, abstract discussions of fame or renown, and particularly the treatment by Boethius, must have been consciously or subconsciously operative on Chaucer's mind, at the time of the composition of this poem. In this very discourse of Boethius, Fortune and Fame are closely allied.[1] The consideration which I shall now give to the noteworthy passages in Boethius will not only furnish some support to the special theory of the influence of the qualities of the goddess of Fortune on Chaucer's divinity, but it will also lend some show of certainty to the general theory presented in Part I. of the importance of discussions of fame in the abstract on the composition of the *Hous of Fame.*

The following passages from Boethius deserve attention—

Liber I. Metrum 5, ll. 28 ff.:

"Nam cur *tantas lubrica versat*
Fortuna vices? premit insontes
Debita sceleri noxia poena,
At perversi resident celso
Mores solis sanctaque calcant
Inusta vice colla nocentes.
Latet obscuris condita virtus
Clara tenebris iustusque tulit
Crimen iniqui.
Nil periuria, nil nocet ipsis
Fraus mendaci compta colore."

Liber I. Prosa v.: "de nostra etiam criminatione doluisti, *laesae* quoque *opinionis dampna flevisti:* postremus *adversus fortunam* dolor incanduit, *conquestusque non aequa meritis praemia pensari.*"

In Liber II. Prosa i., Metrum i., Prosa ii., Prosa iii., Philosophy speaks to Boethius at length concerning the mutability of Fortune.[2] Her caprice and hard-heartedness are told of in Metrum i. ll. 3 ff.:

"Dudum *tremendos saeva proterit reges,*
Humilemque victi sublevat fallax vultum:
Non illa miseros audit, aut curat fletus,
Utroque gemitus, dura quos fecit, ridet.
Sic illa ludit, sic suas probat vires,
Suisque magum monstrat ostentum, si quis
Visatur una stratus ac felix hora."

Philosophy is here (*Liber II.*) attempting to justify the dealings

[1] It would be interesting to know where Chaucer got the suggestion of the *sisterhood* of Fortune and Fame. Probably from the frequent association of the two ideas. Cf. the common phrase "fame and fortune."

[2] Machault in his *Confort d'Ami*, pp. 97 ff., bears witness to the influence of this discussion of Fortune by Boethius. He says if his friends wish to know whence "richesse et noblesse" come, read the book of Boece.

"Que te dira, se oïr le vues
Que tous les biens que perdre pues
Sont de fortune, qui moult tost
Le bien qu'elle a donné tout tost."

of Fortune with Boethius. In *Prosa* vii. the author declares that he has no ambition for worldly things, but wishes that his virtue should have an opportunity to exercise its power:—

"Tum ego, scis, inquam, ipsa minimum nobis ambitionem mortalium rerum fuisse dominatum; sed materiam gerendis rebus optavimus, quo ne virtus tacita consenesceret." To this Philosophy replies in a long speech on fame—"quae quam sit exilis et totius vacua ponderis, sic considera. . . ."

"Quo fit, ut si quem famae praedicatio delectat, huic in plurimos populos nomen proferre nullo modo conducat. Erit igitur pervagata inter suos gloria quisque contentus, et intra unius gentis terminos praeclara illa famae immortalitas coartabitur. . . . Vos vero inmortalitatem vobis propagara videmini, cum futuri temporis famam cogitatis, Quod si ad aeternitatis infinita spatia pertractes, quid habes, quod de nominis tui diuturnitate laeteris?" . . . "Ubi nunc," continues Philosophy in Met. vii.,

> ". . . fidelis ossa Fabricii manent,
> Quid Brutus aut rigidus Cato?
> *Signat superstes fama tenuis pauculis*
> *Inane nomen litteris* . . .
> . . . . . .
> Quod si putatis longius vitam trahi
> *Mortalis aura nominis*. . . ."

This discussion of fame leads directly to a continuation in Metrum viii. of the remarks of Philosophy on Fortune. They are concluded in Book IV. Prosa vii., where she declares that all fortune is good, "omnis bona quam vel iustam constat esse vel utilem." Meanwhile, we have had a final word on fame or "gloria" in Liber III. Prosa vi. "Gloria vero *quam fallax saepe, quam turpis est. . . . Plures enim magnum saepe nomen falsis vulgi opinionibus abstulerunt, quo quid turpis excogitari potest?* Nam qui falso praedicantur, suis ipsi necesse est laudibus erubescant. Quae si etiam meritis conquisitae sint, quid tamen sapientis adiecerint conscientiae, qui bonum suum non populari rumore, sed conscientiae veritate meritur? Quod si hoc ipsum propagasse nomen pulcrum videtur, consequens est, ut foedum non extendisse indicetur. . . ."[1]

[1] This discussion of fame in Boethius is much nearer to Chaucer's conception of the qualities of the goddess than is, for instance, the somewhat similar treatment in the *Somnium Scipionis*, where Africanus discourses to Scipio on the *triviality* merely of the fame which he might secure on earth.

Cf. Lounsbury's translation (*Parl. of Foules*, ed. pp. 14–15)—"Look

The importance of these extracts from Boethius does not lie in any specific resemblance or parallelism to Chaucer's description of the goddess Fama. Their direct value depends entirely upon the probability that the ideas which they represent may have had some influence on the conception of worldly honour of which Chaucer has given a concrete presentation in the *Hous of Fame*. That they do favour the theory already advanced with regard to the influence of the conceptions of Fortune on Chaucer's description, one must be inclined to admit. And if the evidence which is suggested by them be considered along with the fairly certain detailed indebtedness of Chaucer to Boethius, and with the

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with contempt," says Africanus, "on those (objects) of mortal life. For what notoriety that lives in the mouth of man, or what glory that is worthy of being sought after, art thou able to secure? Thou seest that the earth is inhabited in a few small localities, and that between these inhabited places . . . . vast desert regions lie spread out and that those who inhabit the earth are not only so isolated that no communication may pass among them from one to the other. . . . From these you are certainly not able to hope for any glory. . . . Who in the farthest remaining regions of the rising or setting sun, or on the confines of the north and south, will hear thy name?" He then proceeds to say that we are not simply unable to secure for ourselves a glory which lasts for ever. but are even unable to gain a glory which lasts for a long time. . . . "But all such renown is limited to the petty provinces of the region which thou seest: nor in the case of any one is it everlasting: for it both dies with the death of men and is buried in oblivion by the forgetfulness of posterity."

Cf. further the words of Petrarch in Book I. chaps. 11 and 117 of his *De' Rimedii Dell' Una e Dell' Altra Fortuna*, Bologna, 1867 (Volgarizzati nel Buon Secolo Della Lingua, per D. Giovanni Dassaminiato). For the substance of cap. 11, see *Fioretti de' Remedii*, c. 11, Bologna, 1867. Della fama buona e della virtue—"La vita nostra non si muta per diversi oppinioni che sieno auti di noi. Comunque si sia fatta la fama dell' uomo impio, non è però la sua malvagità minore: non monta quello che altri tiene di te, ma quello che ne' tieni tu medesimo; però che la nostra gloria e la testimonianza della nostra coscienze. Dice Santo Pagolo: Voi credete, di voi e delle vostre cose più ad altri che a voi: e cioe che'l popolo loda è degno di vitupero. Voi temete la infamia bugiarda, e gloriatevi della falsa gloria."

A further reference to worldly fame occurs in Boccaccio's *La Teseide*,* Libro Duodecimo, 9 and 12.

> 9. E certo io credo che allora migliore
> La morte sia quando di viver giova:
> Il luogo e'l dove l'uomo ch'ha valore
> Non dee curar, che dovunque e' si trova
> Fama gli serba il suo debito onore:
> 12. . . . . il cui valore
> Fu tanto e tale che grazioso frutto
> Di fama si ha lasciato dietro al fiore;
> Il che, se ben pensassimo, al postutto
> Lasciar dovremmo il misero dolore,
> Et intendere a vita valorosa
> Che ci acquistasse fama gloriosa."

* *Opere Volgari*, Firenze, 1831, vol. ix.

manifest influence which was exerted by the *Consolation* as a whole, the conclusion becomes reasonably justified that the idea of fame in the abstract which receives here so thorough a discussion must have determined to some extent Chaucer's imaginative portrayal.

There is still another circumstance which may strengthen the likelihood of considerable influence from the Fortune material on Chaucer's goddess. This is the frequent association of Fortune (and with Fortune may here be joined Aventure) and Love. The justification of this last bit of evidence depends on the validity of the hypothesis heretofore advanced that for some of the elements of his description, Chaucer is indebted to the love-worship of the mediæval poets. The supreme and usually invidious control which Fortune exercises over lovers needs but to be referred to here. The recognition of this control is of course common in love-poetry of all times, and particularly so in that of the Middle Ages. Several definite instances may be cited as showing the association of the goddess Fortune with the worship of Love.

La Panthère d'Amours, ll. 2008 ff.—The lover goes to the house of Fortune for aid. When he arrives Fortune is angry, and sends him to Meseür. Later she is appeased, and helps him in his suit by sending him to Eür, who enables him to go to his lady, symbolized by the panther.

Baudouin de Condé, *Li Prisons d'Amours*.—In the tower of the prison sits Fortune. Lovers, she says, ll. 947 ff.,

> " . . . ne sèvent quels pointure
> Venra ; tout est en aventure,
> Ausi bien lor maus que lor biens."

Ll. 965 ff.—

> "Mais or est aucuns et aucune
> Qui ne set mie k'est Fortune
> Fortune et aventure sont
> Une coze, mais II. nons ont ;
> Donques, çon que je vois cantant
> Ke fortune va amontant
> Les uns et les autres desmonte,
> Plus ne vaut ne plus n'i amonte,
> Mais c'amours va par aventure ;
> Ce pert que, par pute aventure,
> Ausi tost a d'amors les biens
> Uns lais . . .
> . . . . . .
> Ensi est amours à belloi
> Menée, sans droit et sans loi,
> Par fortune et par aventure." [1]

[1] *Dits et Contes*, I. pp. 301–302. Cf. the treatment accorded Fortune and Aventure in *Le Roman de Troie*, ll. 10113 ff. :—

> "Se Fortune volsist lo jor,
> Le grant travail, le grant labor
> Fust si feniz que plus n'en fust,
> N'altre damage n'i éust.

Francesco da Barberino, *Il Trattato d'Amore*, p. 16 :[1]—

"Nè anco amor à rischio di cadere ;
Ma quel che preso, nel desir vien meno
Cade e non cade, con' ventura il mena."

Il Tesoretto, cap. xviii. ll. 207–8. The author goes

"Per esser veditore
Di Ventura, e d'Amore."

Jean de Meung associated with Fortune only vile love, love which depends on pelf, ll. 5502 ff. :—

Ha Dex ! com lor en fust bien pris !
Mès Aventure, ço m'est vis,
Ne voleit pas. Reins ne doton,
Quant, par si petite acheson,
Remest le jor lor delivrance,
Et la rescosse et la quitance,
Si iert la chose à avenir
Que riens nel poeit destolir."

Also the figure of Aventure in Watriquet de Couvin's *Li Mireoirs as Dames*, ll. 54 ff., 100 ff., 158 ff. (*Dits*, ed. by Scheler, Bruxelles, 1868.)

Ll. 54 ff.—The poet sees the most beautiful creature that ever Nature could form,

"Et la plus blanche au droit costé ;
Rien n'en avoit Nature osté,
Toute y estoit biautez entière.
Mais tant estoit hideuse et fière,
Laide, noire, au costé senestre,
C'on en peüst esbahis estre."

She salutes him, ll. 100 ff.,

"Je porte au siecle double vois,
J'ai bien et mal dedans ma male,
Je maine l'un la voie male,
L'autre conduis sanz mal aler.
Ainssi puis faire desmaler
Bien et mal. . . ."

Ll. 158 ff.,

"Frère, on m'apele Aventure,
En terre m'a Diex establie ;
Au main lever pas me m'oublie,
Tantost sui où je veil aler ;
Je fas le trop haut devaler,
Nus n'a en moi *juste fiance*
Bien en vois la senefiance
A mon cors de double figure,
Qu'en moi n'a point d'uevre seüre,
Nus n'i do it estr asseürez,
Tant soit riches ne eürez
Ne par fortune aventureus."

[1] *Roma*, 1898.

"Ains se faint et les vet flatant
Por le proufit qu'il en atent.
C'est l'amor qui vient de Fortune,
Qui s'esclipse comme la lune
Qui la terre obnuble et enumbre,
Quant la lune chiet en son umbre."

2. We have now reached the point where it becomes necessary to determine as definitely as possible what part the elements of the worship of Love played in the development of Chaucer's representation of the goddess and her home. Whether or no it is at all possible to differentiate the definite influences of the conceptions of Fortune and Love, one may hazard the following attributions. To Fortune is due the rock of ice with its two sides, and the characteristic qualities of the goddess in giving her awards. To Love is due the idea of a goddess of Fame as a divinity who sits on a throne and decides the fate of suppliants. It will be unnecessary, even without the evidence which I wish now to present, for me to defend the likelihood of considerable influence on Chaucer's goddess from the goddess of Love. For once we grant, as I feel we must, that this unique figure of Chaucer's is not wholly the work of his imagination, unassisted by mediæval divinity lore, we are irresistibly drawn toward the worship of Love as the most probable source for some of the fundamental characteristics of the goddess of Fame. The evidences of such influences may not, and we should not expect them to be, strikingly apparent in the material of this new conception—the functions of the two divinities, Love and Fame, are obviously different. Yet the underlying idea of this figure—the first suggestion of a powerful goddess of Renown sitting in judgment—may depend very largely upon the impression which was undoubtedly made on Chaucer's imagination by the poetic description of the supreme power of the goddess of Love. This supposition will assume a greater aspect of certainty in the light of the following excerpts from the many portrayals of the worship of this famous divinity.[1]

Guiraut de Calanso—*A leis cui am de cor e de saber.*—Carnal love is personified as a very powerful being. Not reason but impulse rules her court, and never will justice be done there. She wears a crown of gold. She dwells in a palace with five portals, two of which having been passed, the other three are

[1] With Venus the god of Love is, of course, frequently associated.

easy of entrance; but the exit is hard. Love makes the whole universe serve her. One she makes rich; another to languish; one she holds down, another she makes successful. She is unstable, proving faithless to her fair promises.[1]

De Phyllide et Flora.

Phyllis and Flora go to Cupid for judgment. In the Paradise of Love, Cupid is surrounded by Fauni, Nymphae and Satyri. The maidens approach and state their case. Judgment is in favour of Flora.[2]

Florance et Blancheflor.

The court consists of birds. The god of Love assembles his barons to decide the question presented by the two lovers.[3]

Mahiu le Poriier.[4] (1) *Le Court d'Amours*—

The court of Love is in the castle. The grand Bailli presides, assisted by twelve peers. Several persons arrive and consult the court on questions of love.

(2) *Le Court d'Amours.* Sequel to (1).

Envy reigns in the castle of Love and persecutes all true lovers. The wicked are encouraged.

De Venus la Deesse d'Amor.[5]—

The goddess of Love attended by three damsels appears before the lover. He asks her name. She replies:

137. "Je sui qui les amans vraiement amer fai,
Sous ma subjection tos les vrais amans ai."
138. "Jo ai a non Venus, la deesse d'amor,
Je sui qui les amans fait avoir ioie et plor,
De mon dart sont naure, qui aiment par amor,
Li fin gentil cuer vrai en sentent la dolor."

The birds proclaim the lover's distress and get the goddess to promise her assistance. After inquiries as to his loyalty, Venus leads him to the court of the god of Love, where they are admitted on showing the seal. The hall is described; roses and flowers are everywhere; the door is of coral; the building itself of crystal. Now the goddess leads the hero before the god of Love, before whom the lover kneels. A prince sounds a golden "sifflet" and

[1] See *Neilson*, pp. 24–5. The nature of the dealings of Carnal Love here is, as we shall see again, somewhat related to that of Fortune.
[2] *Neilson*, pp. 34–6.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 36–7.
[4] See G. Raynaud, *Romania*, X. 519 ff.
[5] *Neilson*, pp. 42, 43; also the edition by W. Foerster, Bonn, 1880.

calls for silence. The goddess rises and makes a plea for the lover, and the god grants her what she seeks.

Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*,[1] pp. 92 ff.—A knight riding along sees a procession of women, led by a man crowned with a golden diadem. There are three troops of women: 1. well-dressed and finely mounted; 2. surrounded by a mob of men; 3. a wretched crowd on emaciated hacks. These bands of women correspond to the three classes of women to whom the doors of the palace of Love were allotted.[2] The man on horseback calls the knight to him and discloses his identity: it is the god of Love. A woman tells the knight of the procession—"Hic, quem vides, est exercitus mortuorum." A description of the palace of Love precedes.

Guillaume de Machault, *Dit du Vergier*.

In his vision the poet sees six youths and six damsels.

> "Et dessus le bel arbrissel,
> Qui estoit en mi li praiel,
> Se séoit une créature
> De trop merveilleuse figure."

This is the god of Love. All the youths and maidens are honouring him as their sovereign lord and their god. He explains to the poet the extent of his powers, pp. 17, 18, and 24:

> "Je sui cilz qui ha le pooir
> De faire le riche doloir
> Et de lui faire dolouser,
> Plaindre . . .
> . . . . . .
> Et si sachies certainement
> Qu'il n'est reyne, ne contesse,
> Ne dame de si grant noblesse
> Que je ne la face doloir
> Et resjoir à mon voloir:
> . . . . . .
> J'ai seur tous cuers humains puissance:
> Ils sont tuit en m'obéissance,
> Je les donne, veil haut, veil bas,
> Sans garder raison ne compas."
> P. 24. "Et de mes eles que tu vois
> Dire t'en veil à ceste fois
> Par quoi tu en soies certains:
> Saiches qu'il n'est nulz si longtains
> Pais, regne ne région
> Que tuit en ma subjection
> Ne soient souverainement
> Pour faire mon commandement."

Jean de Condé, *La Messe des Oisiaus*.

In a beautiful forest, a gorgeous throne is set up, and here Venus takes her seat to dispense justice and receive adoration. Those who have suits come before her. A company of canonesses

[1] Libri Tres., ed. by E. Trojel, Copenhagen, 1892.

[2] Cf. *Lai du Trot*, *Lai d'Ignaures*, ed. by Monmerqué et Michel, Paris, 1832, pp. 71–83. Two great companies of ladies: the first on white palfreys, gorgeously mounted; the second on broken-down nags and dressed in tatters. These wretched ones had lived without love.

in white lodge a complaint against the grey nuns, who in their turn reply.

Venus gives her verdict.[1]

Nicole de Margival, *La Panthère d'Amours.*

The poet hears a great sound of music and beholds approaching a company dressed in cloth of gold and other costly materials, and in the midst, one of noble figure holding a sceptre and wearing a crown of jewels and a richly decorated robe. In answer to questions from the poet, this stranger tells him that he is the god of Love, to whom all lovers pray. He it is who humbles the proud and exalts the lowly, emboldens the coward and makes timid the valiant, and is everywhere omnipotent. Esperance, Dous Penser, and Dous Souvenir take charge of the poet and lead him to the mansion of Love. At last he sets out for the palace of Fortune.[2]

Tresor Amoureux.[3]

Ll. 387 ff. The god of Love assembles his people. He tells the author how to make his book.

Watriquet de Couvin, *Li Dis de la Fontaine d'Amour.*[4] The poet is soothed to sleep in a green meadow in the time of May.

Ll. 222 ff.

". . . . . Lors vint d'oriant
Vers moi d'omme une voiz tant clere
Que nulle autre à lui ne compere ;
Messagiers iert à la deesse,
Qui d'amours garde la promesse."

She tells him the way to the "court d'amours." He comes to the court of Venus and takes his seat among the assembled lovers.

Boccaccio, *Amorosa Visione*, chap. xv.

A meadow scene is painted on the wall. Boccaccio describes the god of Love, his servants and the goddess :—

"Tra' quali in mezzo d'esso al mio parere
Un gran signor di mirabile aspetto
Vid' io sopra due aquile sedere.
. . . . . .

---

[1] The situation in such a poem as *La Messe des Oisiaus* reminds one very strongly of the court of the goddess Fame. No closer parallel can be looked for. Suggestions for the development in detail of his main idea may have come to Chaucer from various sources,—for instance, the *Divine Comedy* or other sacred visions ; but the general and primary dependence on the love-vision material of Chaucer's picture of the suppliants before the goddess seems now almost certain.

[2] *Neilson*, pp. 69–71.

[3] Froissart, *Oeuvres*, iii. pp. 52 ff.

[4] *Dits*, ed. by Scheler, 1868, pp. 101 ff.

E' intorno avea senza fine adunate
Genti, le qua' parer che ciascheduno
Mirasse pure a sua benignitate,
Gai e giocondi ve ne vidi alcuno,
Tristi e dolenti sospirando gire
Altrui vi vidi, in isperanza ognuno
. . . . . .
Ornata come lui con grande onore
Li vidi allato una donna gentile,
La qual parava, sì com' egli è Amore,
Vaga negli occhi, pietosa ed umile."

These illustrative extracts from mediæval literature treating of the worship of Love constitute the final bits of the evidence which I have to present here as explaining the sources of Chaucer's goddess of Fame. If this discussion, begun on page 117, has accomplished its purpose, it will have demonstrated pretty conclusively that the portrayal of the goddess and her "place," while of course depending to a considerable extent on the classical conception of Fame and on the abstract idea of renown, owes much to the figures of the goddesses of Love and Fortune. It will also have suggested some probable sources for the actual material of Chaucer's description. To the evidence, as presented, I wish, before proceeding to a study of the house of tidings to add some material which in kind, if not in striking detail, is related to Chaucer's palace. I may add, what is probably already evident, that I have discovered no definite source or sources for Chaucer's composite picture.

The probable influence of the figure of the goddess of Love and her court leads us to consider various palaces of the Love divinities.

Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, V. 1 ff.[1]

The palace of Cupid is in a grove. The ceilings are supported by golden columns. The walls are adorned with silver carving, with the figures of wild beasts and domestic animals. The pavement is of precious stones. The walls shine with their own lustre.

Claudianus, *De Nuptiis Honorii et Mariae*,[2] ll. 50 ff., ll. 86 ff.

Home of Venus on a mountain—

"Mons latus Ionium Cypri praeruptus obumbrat,
Invius humano gressu . . .
. . . . . .

[1] *Opera Omnia*, G. F. Hildebrand, 2 vols. Lipsiae, 1842, vol. i. pp. 306–310.

[2] *Carmina*, ed. Julius Koch, Lipsiae, 1893.

Hunc venti pulsare timent, hunc laedere nimbi.
Hunc neque candentes audent vestire pruinae ;
. . . . . .
In campum se fundit apex ; hunc aurea seapes
Circuit et fulso defendit prata metello.
. . . . . .
Labuntur gemini fontes ; hic dulcis, amarus
Alter, et infusis corrumpunt mella venenis,
Unde Cupidineas armari fama sagittas."

Ll. 86 ff.—

. . . " Procul atriae divae
Permutant radios silvaque obstante virescunt.
Lemnius haec etiam gemmis extruxit et auro,
Admiscens artem pretio trabibusque smaragdis.
Supposuit coesas hyacinthi rupe columnas.
Beryllo paries et iaspide lubrica surgunt
Limina despectusque solo calcatur achates."

Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epithalamium dictum Ruricio et Hiberiae*, XI.[1]

" Inter Cyaneas, Ephyraea cacumina, cautes
Qua super Idalium levat Orithyion in aethram
Exesi sale montis apex, . . .
. . . . . .
Profecit studio spatium ; nam Lemnius illic
Ceu templum lusit Veneri fulmenque relinquens
Hic ferrugineus fumavit saepe Pyragmon.
Hic lapis est, de quinque locis dans quinque colores.
. . . . . .
Myrrhina, sardonyches, amethystus Hiberus, iaspis
Indus, Chalcidicus, Scythicus, *beryllus*,[2] achates
Attolunt duplices argenti cardine valvas,
Per quas inclusi lucem vomit umbra smaragdi "

---

[1] C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius, recensuit P. Mohr, Lipsiae, 1895, pp. 306–7.

[2] Why does Chaucer construct his palace out of beryl ?

Ll. 1884–6 :

" Al was of stone of beryle
Bothe the castel and the tour,
And eek the halle and every bour."

Beryl was an appropriate material for a palace of Love. Cf. *L'Intelligenza*, pp. 11 and 12, Biblioteca Rara, vol. xv., Milan, 1863.

" Berillo v'è di palido colore ;
E s'egli e sanza cantora si è chiaro ;
Ma quel ch'a color d'olio à più valore.
. . . . . .
Per-sua vertude fa crescer l'amore.
Di nove qualità si ne trovaro.
Puossi a la donna mia assimigliare
Ch' ogni lontan d'amore farebbe annare."

Carmina Burana, No. 49.[1]

A "templum Veneris" where Venus resides and receives the poet, wounded with an arrow of the goddess.

Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*,[2] pp. 89 ff. :—

"Fertur etenim et est verum, in medio mundi constructum esse palatium quattuor ornatissimas habens facies, et in facie qualibet est porta pulcherrima valde. In ipso autem palatio solus amor et dominarum meruerunt habitare collegia. Orientalem quidem portam solus sibi deus appropriavit amoris, aliae vero tres certis dominarum sunt ordinibus destinatae. . . . . Quae semper janua morantur aperta et ostii semper reperiuntur in limine, sunt illae mulieres et dominae, quae, dum aliquis petit ingressum, diligenter indagare noverunt, quibus sit meritis dignus ac quam probitatem retineat, qui patentis januae desiderat aditum, et post meritorem habitam fidem plenariam cum omni dignos honore admittunt, indignos vero procul ab amoris aula repellunt."

Architrenius,[3] p. 252 :—

> "Jamque fatigato Veneris domus aurea, rerum
> Flosculus, occurrit, monti superedita, qualem
> Cantat odorifero Philomena poetica versu.
> Quae quibus intorsit odii certamina livor
> Ruffinum vitiis, Stiliconem moribus, armat,
> Alternansque stylos, istum premit, erigit illum;
> Neutrum describit, tacet ambos, fingit utrumque.
> Hic dea virginibus roseum cingentibus orbem
> Praesidet et rudibus legit incentiva puellis."

Guiraut de Calanso. "*A leis cui am de cor e da saber.*"—A palace with five portals, the home of Carnal Love.

De Venus la Deesse d'Amor—

The house is of crystal, the door of coral, etc.

Hueline et d'Aiglantine[4]—

A palace of Venus where the pavilions are all of crystal.

La Teseide, VII. 51 ff.[5]—

In the midst of the garden of Love is a temple raised on fifty columns.

At the entrance sits Madonna Pace.

[1] Ed. by J. A. Schmeller, Breslau, 1894, pp. 138–140.
[2] Ed. by E. Trojel, Copenhagen, 1892.
[3] *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, vol. i. Lond. 1872.
[4] Méon, *Nouveau Recueil de Fabliaux et Contes*, 2 vols. Paris, 1823, vol. i. pp. 353–363.
[5] *Opere Volgari*, Firenze, 1831, ix.

63. "Ma non vedendo Vener, le fu detto,
Ne' conobbe da cui: in più segreta
Parte del tempio si sta a diletto:"

64. The author finds Richezza, who guards the door, and then Venus herself, lying naked on a bed.[1]

Froissart, *Cour de May*,[2] ll. 1409 ff.:—

"Cor sur pilers tous d'or massis
Estoit le dit portail assis,
Le comble d'or tout esmaillié
De bleu, comme ardoise taillié,
Rubis, saphirs aux quatre quarres,
Les fenestres d'or, et les barres
Teles qu'onques ne vy tel fait,
Et jamais je n'aroie fait,
Se deviser au lonc vouloie
Sa beaulté . . .
. . . . . .
En regardant dessus la porte
Où Amours souvent se deporte
Vy ung tableau d'or plain de lettre:
. . . . . .
Fuyés, fuyés, fuyés de cy," etc.

Few definite points of resemblance exist between these palaces of Love and Chaucer's palace of Fame. We may turn finally to other palaces of imaginative liturature. To the classics, as Professor Neilson indicates,[3] we must look for the origin of the elaborate mediæval palaces of imaginative literature.

Iliad, I. 426. Zeus's Palace of the Bronze Threshold. *Iliad*, XVIII. 369 ff., Hephaistos' house of bronze.

Æneid, I. 50–63, House of Winds; VII. 170 ff., Palace of Picus of Laurentium:—

"Tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis,
Urbe fuit summa, Laurentis regia Pici,
Horrendum silvis, et religione parentum.
Hic sceptra accipere et primos attollere fasces,
Regibus omen erat: hoc illis curia templum,
Hae sacris sedes epulis: hic, ariete caeso,
Perpetuis soliti patres considere mensis.
Quin etiam *veterum effigies ex ordine avorum*
Antiqua e cedro, Italusque, paterque Sabinus
Vitisator, curvam servans sub imagine falcem,
Saturnusque senex Janique bifrontis imagi,
Vestibulo astabant; aliique ab origine reges."

---

[1] This temple has practically none of the characteristics of the mediæval palace; it is the home of the goddess, however.

[2] *Oeuvres*, iii. pp. 1 ff.

[3] Pp. 11, 23, 143.

Æneid, VIII. ll. 416 ff., House of Vulcan.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II. 1 ff., Palace of the Sun; II. 760, House of Envy; VIII. 788, House of Cold; XI. 592, House of Sleep.

Tibullus, Liber III., Elegia III.

Statius, *Thebaid*, X. 84 ff., Home of Sleep; VII. 40 ff., Home of Mars:—

> "Hic steriles delubra notat Mavortia silvas,
> Horrescitque tuens; ubi mille furoribus illi
> Cingitur adverso domus immansueta sub Haemo.
> Ferrea compago laterum, ferro arcta teruntur
> Limina; ferratis incumbunt tecta columnis. . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . . clausaeque adamante perenni
> Dissiluere fores: Hyrcano in sanguine pulcher
> Ipse subit curru, diraque adspergine latos
> Mutat agros: spolia a tergo, flentesque catervae."[1]

Coming later down, we find an interesting palace in Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*, p. 306:—"Era tenim palatii longitudo cubitorum sexcentorum, latitudo vero ducentorum. Tectum autem ex exteriora cuncta palatii erant argentea, interiora vero aurea quidem omnia et praetiosis ornata lapidibus. Palatium etiam variis multum erat receptaculis distinctum. In digniore vero palatii in aureo throno rex sedebat Arturus et circa eum residebant dominae pulchriores, quarum mihi non potuit esse numerus manifestus, et stabant coram eo milites multi et decori aspectus."

Anti-Claudianus,[2] I. cap. iv., House of Nature:—

> "In medio nemoris evadit in aera montis
> Ardua planities, et nubibus oscula donat.
> Hic domus erigitur Naturae . . .
> . . . . . .
> Aera metitur, altis suspensa columnis
> Sidere gemmarum praefulgurat, ardet in auro,
> Nec minus argenti proprio donatur honore.
> . . . . . .
> Hic nominum mores picturae gratia scribit."

Aristotle and Plato, Seneca, Ptolemy, Tullius, Virgil, Alcides, Ulysses, Titus, Turnus, etc., are represented here.

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[1] *Collection des Auteurs Latins*, Paris, 1843.
[2] *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, vol. ii. pp. 268 ff.

Anti-Claudianus, IV. cap. vii., Palace of Mars.

Architrenius, pp. 297–8, Palace of Ambition.

Boccaccio's *La Teseide*, VII. 32 ff., Home of Mars.

In the level track, under the hibernal sky, continually agitated by tempests, is the palace of Mars :—

> " Tutta d'acciaio splendido e pulio
> Del quale era dal sol riverberata
> La luce, che abborriva il luogo rio :
> Tutto di ferro era la stretta entrata,
> E le porte eran d'eterno diamante
> Ferrate d'ogni parte tutte quante."

The temple is supported by columns of iron. Inside are many figures.

Tresor Amoureux, ll. 38 ff., Palace of Beauty :—

> " Mais en dormant me fu advis
> Que Beauté amont et aval
> Devint un hault palais royal,
> Aussi bel et bien ordené
> Qu'onques homme de mere né
> En veïst nul ne loing ne près,
> Car de haulz murs, et non de prés,
> Me sembloit enclos tout autour."

The palace is sustained by eight towers, of which the Tower of Beauty is supreme.

Rutebeuf, *La Voie de Paradis*, ll. 149 ff.,[1] The House of Orguex :—

> " Quant vous cheminerez demain,
> Si verrez à senestre main
> Une meson moulte orguilleuse ;
> Bele est, mès ele est pereilleuse,
> Qu'ele chiet par .1. pou devant.
> Moult est bien fete par devant,
> Assez miex que n'est par derrière,
> Et s'a escrit en la mesière :
> 'Ceenz est à Orguex li cointes,
> Qu'à toz péchiez est bien aointes.'"

Symon de Covino, *De Judicio Solis in Conviviis Saturni*,[2] House of Saturn :—

> " Atria Saturni firmis fundata columpnis
> Auster habet . . .
> . . . . . .

[1] *Oeuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. by A. Jubinal, 3 vols. Paris, 1874–5, vol. ii. pp. 169–203.

[2] *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes* (1st Series, II.), ed. by E. Littré, 1840–1, pp. 201 ff.

Ligneus est paries, obliqua tecta tyranni
Ligna tegunt levia nigro scalentia tabo.
. . . . . .
Janua lata patet reseratis undique plaustris
. . . . . .
Illic panduntur tria magna palatia, quorum
Sunt camarae quinque . . .
Ordo nullus ibi ; sed erat confusio multa."

Sol holds a court of the planets and gives judgment.[1]

The House of Tidings.

The definite relation of Chaucer's House of Tidings to Ovid's account of the dwelling of Fama[2] has already been discussed.[3] It remains now to investigate the peculiar nature of the building. The essential part of the description may be given briefly.

"Tho saugh I stonde in a valeye,
Under the castel, faste by,
An hous, that Domus Dedali
That Laborintus cleped is,[4]

---

[1] Pp. 210–211. A much more weighty assembly is that described by Martianus Capella, Book I. pp. 16 ff. Jupiter holds an assembly of the gods.

[2] *Metamorphoses*, XII.

[3] See *ante*, pp. 107–109. Chaucer is indebted to Ovid, of course, for the main details of what he finds in the house.

Professor Skeat attributes entirely too much influence to Dante when he says (*Minor Poems*, 2nd ed. 1896, p. lxxi) : "The description of the House of Rumour is also imitated from Dante."

The passage to which he refers is as follows (*Inferno*, III. 52–57) :—

"Ed io, che riguardai, vidi una insegna
Che girando correva tanto ratta
. . . . . .
E dietro le venia sì lunga tratta
Di gente, ch'i, non avrei mai creduto,
Che morte tanto n'avesse disfatta . . ."

Here is doubtless a suggestion, but surely nothing more, for a bit of Chaucer's phraseology.

[4] Professor Skeat comments on this reference to Dedalus and the labyrinthus, *Minor Poems*, p. 365, note to l. 1920 :—"The description of the house of Dedalus is in Ovid, *Met.*, VIII. 159 ; and the word *labyrinthus* used with reference to it is in Virgil, *Æneid*, V. 588. Chaucer again refers to it in the *Legend of Good Women* (Ariadne, 2010–2014) ; and it is mentioned in his translation of *Boethius*, Bk. III. pr. 12."

Ovid speaks thus of the work of Daedalus :

"Daedalus ingenio fabrae celeberrimus artis
Ponit opus ; turbatque notas, et lumina flexum
Ducit in errorem variarum ambage viarum
. . . . . .
. . . Ita Daedalus implet
Innumeras errore vias, vixque ipse reverti
Ad limen potuit : tanta est fallacia tecti."

Nas maad so wonderliche y-wis,
Ne half so queynteliche y-wrought.
And ever-mo, *so swift as thought.*
This quentye hous aboute went,
That never-mo stille hit (ne) ne stente" (ll. 1918–1926).

Ll. 1936 ff.—

"And al this hous of whiche I rede
Was made of *twigges, falwe, rede,*
And grene eek, and som weren whyte,
Swiche as men to these cages thwyte,
Or maken of these paniers,
Or elles hottes or dossers:
. . . . .
And *eek this hous hath of entrees*
As fele as leves ben on trees
In somer, whan they grene been;
And on the *rove* men may yit seen
A *thousand holes,* and wel mo,
To *leten wel the soun out-go.*"

Ll. 1977 ff.—

"And lo, this hous, of which I wryte,
Siker be ye, hit nas not lyte;
For it was sixty myle of lengthe,
Al was the timber of no strengthe."

Ll. 2002–2006.—The eagle speaks to Chaucer:

"But certein, oon thing I thee telle,
That, *but I bringe thee ther-inne,*
Ne shalt thou never cunne ginne
To come into hit, out of doute,
So faste hit whirleth, lo, aboute."

Professor Mark Liddell gives the following note in the *Nation*, vol. 64, pp. 124–5 (1897):

"In the *Hous of Fame*, l. 1920, Chaucer speaks of

'An hous that domus Dedali
That Laborintus cleped is.'

In *Boethius* the reference to the labyrinth is 'inextricabilem labyrinthum rationibus texens' (Bk. III. m. 12, Obb. 69. 1). Chaucer's own translation of which runs—'Thou hast so woven me with thy resouns the hous of Dedalus.' But the note to the passage in Aquinas (sig. S. iij) is—'Nota Laborintus dicebatur domus Dedali,' which shows plainly that Chaucer, if he had the *Boethius* in mind, copied the Nota and not the Textus. . . ."

I may add a reference to Higden's *Polychronicon*, I. p. 8 (ed. by J. R. Lumby, 8 vols. 1865–1882)—"Cujus negotii, velut Daedalini labyrinthi, inextricabilem attendens intricationem, rogata sum veritus attemptare."

Trevisa's translation (1387) is as follows—"Þoo toke I hede þat þis matir, as *laborintus, Dedalus hous,* haþ many halkes and hurnes, wonderful weies, wyndynges and wrynkelynges þat wil nouȝt be unwarled."

Ll. 2027–2033.—

> "With this worde he [the eagle] right anoon,
> Hente me up bitwene his toon,
> And at a window in me broghte,
> That in the house was, as me thoughte—
> And therwithal, me thoughte hit stente,
> And no-thing hit aboute wente—
> And me sette in the flore adoun."[1]

Here is a revolving house of twigs, a house furthermore into which Chaucer may not enter without the assistance of the eagle. What is the origin of this new material of the House of Fame and of this curious property of whirling? A partial answer, involving a negation, may at once be given. It was not original with Chaucer. He may have been original in applying such material to the house of tidings; but somewhere, either in the literary or the oral traditions which had come down to him, or in the actual life of the time, there must have been models, as it were, for his fantastic description.[2] For convenience, I wish to consider certain illustrative material in four divisions.

1. Actual houses of twigs or rods, some of which may have been known to Chaucer either from observation or hearsay.

2. Other houses of twigs or rods.

3. Revolving houses.

4. Revolving houses into which a hero may enter only with the aid of some one, often an animal.

(1) Actual houses made of twigs.

The Irish wicker or wattle houses,[3] in the light of the possi-

[1] The reason for the last two quotations will appear later.

[2] One may suggest the bare possibility that a hint for the revolving house may have come to Chaucer from the nature of the interior of the Ovidian house of Fama—that is, that everything was moving about. The poet may have thought to apply this characteristic to the building itself. Cf. Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman*, Act V. scene i. (Mermaid ed. [old] vol. iii. p. 251). Morose transfers the idea of the commotion within to the dwelling itself. He speaks to the two learned men: "You do not know in what a misery I have been exercised this day, what a torrent of evil! My very house turns round with the tumult! I dwell in a windmill: the perpetual motion is here and not at Eltham." The probability of such an influence in the case of Chaucer, I suppose, hardly deserves serious consideration.

[3] For wattle houses among the Irish and Welsh, see E. O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, 3 vols. Lond. 1873, vol. i. pp. ccxcvii ff., pp. cccxlvi, ccccliv ff., vol. iii. pp. 31 ff. Appendix, pp. 479–80; Rhys and Jones, *The Welsh People*, Lond. 1900, pp. 199–200; Frederick Seebohm, *English Village Community*, Lond. 1896, pp. 239–40; P. W. Joyce, *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, 2 vols. Lond. 1903, vol. ii. pp. 23 ff.; John Stuart, *The Book of Deer*, ed. for the Spalding Club, Edin. 1869, Pref. p. cli, n. 1.

bilities involved, are of peculiar interest in our study of Chaucer's revolving twig house.[1] That the English poet knew of such houses is indisputable.[2] A good account of these old Irish houses is that given in O'Curry, vol. i. p. ccxcxii.—

The ancient Irish house was of two forms: 1. Long, quadrilateral building, built of felled trees, and covered with thatch, or made of mud and straw, like the existing mud-cabins. 2. Cylindrical house, made of wicker-work, and having a cup-shaped or hemispherical roof.

Vol. iii. p. 31, *House of an Old Man.*

His house of maintenance is to be 17 feet long; it is to be woven (as basket-work) till it reaches the lintel of the door; there is to be a wing (or weather-board) between every two weavings from that up to the ridge; there are to be two doorways in it. . . . From the measurement of the buildings described in the foregoing extracts, the houses in ancient Erinn would appear to have been in some instances of a rectangular or oblong form. There is, however, absolute proof of the existence of round or circular houses, made chiefly or wholly of wicker-work.[3] The plan of this description of house was very simple, and may be seen still preserved in the wicker or wattle sheep-cots in many of these parts of Ireland.

The round wicker-house was built by setting up perpendicularly a number of posts of more or less solidity, ranged in a circle. The interstices between these poles or posts were filled up with stout hazel or other rods, in the form of wicker or basket-work, until it reached the required height of the wall. In the meantime there was set up in the centre within a stout post, into which were inserted by mortices, or otherwise attached, a certain number of rafters. Cross-beams or pieces were inserted between them. Across the rafters and ribs were laid bands or laths, or narrow slips of wood, which were fastened with pegs or with gads, that is, twisted withes, forming a regular net-work from the top of the roof-tree to the walls. On these again were laid or fastened at short distances what may be called a sheeting of

[1] Professor Kittredge first directed my attention to these old Irish wicker houses.

[2] See pp. 152–4.

[3] See also A. C. L. Brown, *Round Table before Wace*, p. 196 (*Harv. Stud. and Notes*, vol. vii.): "It is absolutely certain," he says, "that the primitive Celtic wattle house both in Gaul and Ireland was circular." He quotes *Strabo*, iv., 3rd ed., Müller and Dübner, Paris, 1853, pp. 163–4.

rods and thin branches of twigs. And now the shell of the house being finished, it was thatched with straw, rushes, or sedge, and fastened down with thin twigs pointed at both ends.

Vol. i. pp. cccliv ff.—

In the earliest huts of all the northern nations, the smoke made its exit through cracks in the roof; it must certainly have done so in the smaller circular wicker-houses.

Joyce (vol. ii. p. 23) refers to plastered wicker-work in colours. "The whole surface of the wicker-work was plastered on the outside, and made brilliantly white with lime, or occasionally striped in various colours."

P. 24.—"Building in wicker-work was common to the Celtic people of Ireland, Scotland, and Britain."

P. 26.—"In the Highlands of Scotland wattled or wicker-houses were used, even among high-classed people, down to the end of the eighteenth century; and it is probable that they continued in use in Ireland to as late a period."

Ralph Higden, in his *Polychronicon*, I. p. 406, refers to the twig-houses of the Welsh people—

> "Domos demissas incolunt
> Ex virgulis quas construunt."[1]

(2) Other houses of twigs and rods.

In the *Vision of Mac Conglinne*,[2] a reference is made to a wicker-palace—"And he (Cathal) pressed his back against the side of the palace, so that he left neither rafter, nor pole, nor wattle, nor wisp of thatch, nor post that was not displaced."

Fled Bricrend, p. 254, l. 20.—Bricriu builds a house for his feast.—"A cart (was) at fetching every beam, and seven men of the heroes of the Ultonians (were) at the *casting of every single slat*" (weaving of the rods).[3]

Marco Polo in his *Travels*[4] tells of cane palaces. Vol. I. cap. lxi. p. 299—"Moreover he [the Kaan] has another palace built of cane. . . . It is gilt all over and most elaborately finished inside. . . . The roof of the house like the rest is built of canes." In note 4 the editor says in regard to bamboo huts,

[1] *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, 9 vols. Lond. 1865–1886.
[2] Ed. by Kuno Meyer, Lond. 1892. See p. 52.
[3] E. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1880. See George Henderson, ed. Fled Bricrend, Lond. 1899, chap. i. p. 5.
[4] Yule Edition, 2 vols. Lond. 1903.

"The posts and walls, wall-plates and rafters, floor and thatch and the withes that bind them, are all of bamboo." [1]

[1] Marco Polo describes other interesting houses in Book I. clii. vol. i. p. 252.

The Houses of the Tartars.—"Their houses are circular and are made of wands covered with felts. These are carried along with them whithersoever they go; for the wands are so strongly bound together and likewise so well combined, that the frame can be made very light."

Note 2. Ibn Batuta describes the Tartar wagon in which he travelled to Sarai—"On the wagon is put a sort of pavilion of wands laced together with narrow thongs. It is very light and is covered with felt or cloth and has latticed windows."

Some supplementary material may be added here.

In the Old French story of *Aucassin and Nicolete* (ed. by H. Suchier, Paderborn, 1903), Nicolete, we recall, builds a little bower of flowers (see p. 23)—

"Ele prist des flors de lis
Et de l'erbe garris
Et de le foille autresi
Une belle loge en fist."

Cf. also the Palace of the god of Love, in *Florance and Blancheflor*, ll. 189 ff. (Barbazan et Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris, 1808, iv. 354–65).

"La tor virent et le palais
Qui ne fu pas de pierre fais,
Là où li Diex d'Amors estoit
Qui en un lit se deportoit.
Roses i ot entremelées,
Les lates i sont bien ovrées,
A clox de girofle atachiées
Molt mignotes et bien ploiées:
De sicamor sont li chevron,
Et di mur qui sont environ
D'arcs sont dont li Diex d'Amors
trait.
Si vos di bien tot entresait
Qui jà postiz n'i sera clos,
Jà ne sera vilain si os
Qu'il past le postiz de la porte,
Se li séel d'amors n'i porte."

A more elaborate palace is found in *Hueline et Aiglantine*, ll. 293 ff. Méon, *Nouveau Recueil*, Paris, I. 353–63.

"Et apres voient le palais,
Ainz tel ne fu, ne n'ert jamais,
La closture est de flor de lis,
Soef en flaire li pais;
Et tuit li tré sont de cristal,
Li paleron de garingal
De ginbregien sont li chevront
Et de ciprès lo freste en son.
De canele est l'antravéure,
Et de basme la coverture;
Moult par est biax sanz nul redout.
Li conpas est de requelice,
Qui aportez fu d'outre Grice:
Li pavemant tuit de flors,
Mil libres valent li péors . . ."

A similar palace occurs in *La Cour d'Amours*, ll. 71 ff. See *Revue des Langues Romans*, 1881, Series III. v. pp. 157 ff., 209 ff., 261 ff.

"[E]z el mei loc ac un castel
Q'anc negus om non vi plus bel,
Que non ha peira el mur
Non luisza con d'aur o d'azur.
. . . . . .
Claus' es de laurie[r]s e de pis,
E de pomiers de paradis:
De flors de lizs es coronada,
Que nais menudet en la prada.
Aqi sasis a parlament
Amors, e parlet bellament . . ."

Mr. R. P. Utter recited to me what seems to have been originally a German folk-song. He had sung it as a boy in the public schools—

"Up yonder on the mountain
There stands a house so high,
And from it every morning
Two turtle-doves do fly.
Had I the wild dove's pinions
I'd fly through all the land,
And seek my little brother
And take him by the hand.
A pretty home I'd build him
All of the clover green,
I'd roof it o'er with boxwood
And flowers of golden sheen."

(3) Revolving Houses.

Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinople, ll. 334 ff.[1]

"L'Emperere descent defors le marbre blanc.
Cez degrez de la sale, vint al palais errant
Set milie chevaliers i troverent seanz,
A peliçons ermines, blialz escharimanz ;
As eschies et as tables se vont esbaneiant.
. . . . . .
Li palais fut voltiz et desore cloanz,
Et fut faiz par compas et serez noblement ;
L'estache del miliu neileie d'argent.
Cent colombes i at tot de marbre en estant ;
Chascune est a fin or neielee devant—
De cuivre et de metal tresjetet dous enfanz.
Chascuns tient en sa boche un corn d'ivoire blanc.
Se galerne ist de mer, bise me altre venz
Qui fierent al palais dedevers occident,
Il le font torneier et menut et sovent
Come roë de char qui a terre descent.
Cil corn sonent et boglent et tonent ensement
Com tabors o toncires o granz cloche qui pent.
. . . . . .
Et tant com l'emperere cele parole at dit,
Devers les porz de mer oït un vent venir.
Bruiant vint al palais, d'une part l'accoillit,
Si l'at fait esmoveir et soëf et serit :
Altresil fait torner com arbre de molin.
Celes imagences cronent, l'une a l'altre sorrist,
Que ço vos fust viaire que il fussent tuit vif,
L'uns halt, li altre cler ; . . .
. . . . . .
Charles vit le palais torneier et fremir ;
Il ne sout que ço fut, ne l'out de loign apres.
Ne pout ester sor piez, sor le marbre s'assist.
. . . . . .
Franceis sont tuit verset . . . . .
. . . . . .
Et dist li uns a l'altre : 'Mal somes entrepris ;
Les portes sont overtes, si n'en poons eissir.'
. . . . . .
Li vespres approchet, li orages remest."[2]

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[1] Ed. by E. Koschwitz, 4th ed. Leipsig, 1900.

[2] The idea of enchantment which is attached to so many of these revolving houses (cf. *La Mule sanz Frain*, or the Irish Folk-tales) has disappeared in this story. The tale has been rationalized. The winds coming from the sea cause the house to turn. A reason has been given for what in an older form of the story would need no explanation. There it would be simply the result of enchantment, the work of powers hostile to mortals.

Fled Bricrend, p. 80.[1]

Fort Curoi.—Every night Curoi chanted a spell over it; the fort revolved as swiftly as a mill-stone. The entrance was never to be found after sunset.

Prester John.[2]

"Et ibi est speciale palacium presbiteri Johannis et doctorum, ubi tenentur concilia. Et illud potest volvi ad modum rotae, ed est testudinatum ad modum coeli, et sunt ibidem multi lapides preciosi, lucantes in nocte, ac si esset clara dies" (Johannes Witte de Hese, 1389).

There are curious revolving houses in modern Russian folk-tales. Ralston[3] (p. 66) refers to the revolving hut. It is called an "izba on fowl's legs"—a hut upheld by slender supports, on which it turns as on a pivot. This is one home of the Snake, one of the male powers of darkness in Russian mythology.

I quote here some examples of the turning-hut or castle from Russian folk-tales.

The Tsarevna Frog.[4]—"The ball, rolling all the time, brought Ivan to a hut, a queer, tiny hut standing on tiny hen's feet. '*Izboushka! Izboushka!*'—for so in Russian do they name small huts—'*Izboushka*, I want thee to turn thy front to me,' cried Ivan, and lo! the tiny hut turned its front at once. Ivan stepped in and saw a witch . . . ."

Baba Yaga.[5]—"The obedient children arrived at the forest and, oh, wonder! there stood a hut, and what a curious one! It stood on tiny hen's feet, and at the top was a rooster's head.[6] With their shrill childish voices they called out loud: '*Izboushka! Izboushka!* turn thy back to the forest, and thy front to us!' The hut did as they commanded. The two orphans looked inside, and saw the witch resting there."

The Feather of bright Finist the Falcon.[7]—In the forest "All at once she sees standing before her an iron hut on hen's legs,

[1] Trans. by George Henderson, *Irish Text Society*, ii. Lond. 1899.

[2] See Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes* (*Abhandlungen d. philol. hist. Classe d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Leipsig, 1883, vol. viii. p. 167). This reference I owe to Professor J. L. Lowes.

[3] W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk-tales*, Lond. 1873. This reference I owe to Professor A. C. L. Brown.

[4] *Folk-tales from the Russian*, re-told by V. X. K. de Blumenthal, 1903, pp. 23 and 24.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 120.

[6] Evidently a very modern touch.

[7] Jeremiah Curtin, *Myths and Folk-tales of the Russians, Western Slavs and Magyars*, Boston, 1890, pp. 52–3.

and it turns without ceasing. 'Hut! hut!' said she, 'stand with thy back to the forest, thy front to me.' The hut turned its front to her. She entered, and in it was lying a Baba-Yaga from corner to corner, her lips on the cross-piece, her nose in the loft."

On pp. 54 and 55, the maiden comes to similar turning huts.

Waters of Life and Death.[1]—A cabin on hen's feet.

Vassilissa Golden Tress.[2]—"Now the sons of the Tsar understood that their sister was near. They urged on their restive steeds and approached the castle of gold which stood on a single pillar of silver; over the castle was a curtain of diamonds: the stairways, mother-of-pearl, opened and closed like wings . . . . The savage serpent was absent. . . .

"Vassilissa the Beautiful was wary; she feared the serpent might see them. They had barely entered when the silver pillar groaned, the stairways opened, and all the roofs glittered; the whole castle began to turn and move. The Tsarevna was frightened, and said to her brothers, 'The serpent is coming; that's why the castle goes round!'"

Pp. 134–7.—"The serpent in shape is a champion; but his head is the head of a serpent. When he flies, the whole castle quivers; when he is ten versts distant, it begins to whirl and dance. But now the castle moves not; it is clear that some one is sitting inside."

Some examples of revolving houses from modern Celtic folk-tales follow.

Saudan Og and Young Conal.[3]—"They were the fifth day at sea when he steered the ship toward the castle of the High King. 'That,' said the Short Dun Champion, pointing to a great building on an island, 'is the castle of the High King of the World; but as good a champion as you are, you cannot free your wife from it. That castle revolves, and as it goes around it throws out poison, and if one drop of that poison were to fall on you the flesh would melt from your bones.'"

Cold Feet and the Queen of Lonesome Island.[4]—"The Queen's castle goes whirling around always. It has only one door and that on the roof of it. If you lean on the staff, you can rise

[1] Jeremiah Curtin, *Myths and Folk-tales of the Russians, Western Slavs and Magyars*, Boston, 1890, p. 75.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 128.
[3] Jeremiah Curtin, *Hero Tales of Ireland*, Boston, 1894, pp. 86, 87
[4] *Ibid.* p. 250.

with one spring to the roof, go in at the door, and to the Queen's chamber."

Blaiman, Son of Apple.[1]—The otter says to him, "You will reach the castle of Hung-up-Naked to-morrow at noonday. It whirls around like a mill-stone continually, and no one can enter but himself, for the castle is enchanted."

Mac Cool, Faolan, and the Mountain.[2]—"The seven travelled on then, and were going ten days when they saw the giant's castle. Now this castle stood on one leg, and it whirled around always. The door is on the roof; the forester stops the castle, and Dyeermud springs in."

Cucúlin.[3]—P. 316.—"The old hag, the Queen of the Wilderness, lives in a round tower which is always turning on wheels. There is but one entrance to the tower, and that high above the ground. She has six lines of guards protecting her tower."

P. 322.—"Cucúlin found the axle of the tower, cut it, and the tower stopped that instant. Cucúlin made a spring and went in through a single passage."

There is a whirling tower also in Beanriogain na Sciana Breaca (Queen of the Speckled Dagger or Queen of the Many Coloured Bed-Chamber).[4]—"In a few minutes they were at the mooring-post, and away in their boat they went as fleet as the driving gale, till the enchanted tower of the witch came in sight (1013). It seemed built of strong upright bars of iron with the spaces between them filled in by iron plates. A pale blue flame went out from it on every side (1516–17, 1570–72), and it kept turning and never stood at rest. As soon as the boat approached Claus began to mutter charms in verse—the tower ceased its motion."

The following four references do not point to actual houses, but are interesting in connection with the foregoing material.

A Whirling Rampart in the Voyage of Mael Duin.[5]—Cap. xxxii. After that they sight another island, which was not large; and a fiery rampart round about it; and that rampart seemed to revolve round the island. There was an open doorway in the side of that rampart. Now, whenever the doorway would come

[1] Jeremiah Curtin, *Hero Tales of Ireland*, Boston, 1894, p. 397.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 504.
[3] Curtin, *Myths and Folk-lore of Ireland*, Boston, 1890, pp. 304–326.
[4] Herrig's *Archiv*, 103, 154, 1899. Quoted by A. S. Cook from Patrick Kennedy's *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts* (Macmillan, 1866).
[5] Trans. by Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, 10, 81.

(in its revolution) opposite to them they used to see (through it) the whole island, and all that was therein and its in-dwellers."

The Vision of Alberic.[1]—Alberic sees many people passing before the church, but they cannot enter.

XLIII.—Cumque ante ecclesiam venissent, cupiebant ibidem ingredi, er signum sibi sancte crucis imprimi, in quo a demonibus tuerentur, set minime poterant. Nam more tempestatis et turbinis illos ante se ducebant.

In Wigalois there is a turning-wheel before a castle or tower.[2]

"Des ein rat von êre pflac ;
das lief umbe vor dem tor
ûf îsenînen siulen enbor.
ez treip ein wazzer daz was grôz ;
durch das fûle mos ez flôz."

The wheel is set with sharp swords and clubs. There is a strange creature to show the hero the way. When the hero strikes the wheel, it stops revolving.

Dwelling of Sogrates in Du Roi Alixandre et du Segretain, Conte XXVI.[3] ll. 4 ff.

"En un soutil leu habita.
En un bois ert qui molt fu bel,
Et maison i fait d'un tonel.
Li toneax issi fait estoit
Que il tornoit com il voloit :
Les fonz metoit devers le vent,
Et devers la pluie ensement ;
L'autre chief qui ouverz estoit,
Vers le soleil quant beax luisoit."[4]

(4) Revolving Houses, into which the hero enters by the aid of a guide, often a helpful animal.

La Mule sanz Frain,[5] ll. 429 ff.

"Li chastiax si très forz estoit,
Que nul asalt ne redotoit,
Que clos estoit à la réonde
D'une eve grant . . .
. . . . . .
Gauvain ne vost mie laissier,
Ne huis ne porte n'i avoit.
Li chastiax si fort tornoioit
Con muele de molin qui muet ;

[1] See F. Cancellieri's *Ozzervazioni . . . sopra la originalita della Divina Commedia di Dante,* Roma, 1814, p. 196.

[2] Ed. by Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1847. Cols. 173–181, vv, 6714–7053. See A. C. L. Brown, *Ivain,* p. 80 (*Harv. Stud. and Notes,* vol. 8).

[3] Barbazan et Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes,* 4 vols., Paris, 1808, vol. ii.

[4] Cf. The Revolving Tower of Worldly Gladness, in Guillaume de Guileville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man.* Second Rescension. Englished by John Lydgate, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S. Ex. Series 77, ll. 21473–21676.

[5] Méon, *Nouveau Recueil,* I. pp. 1 ff.

Et con la trompe que l'en suet
A la corgiée demener ;
Tot adès li covient entrer,
Mès moult durement se mervelle,
. . . . . .
Li Chastiax tot adès tornoie,
Mès il dist que tant i sera
Q'à quelque painne i entrera :
Ce li revient à grant anui
Que quant la porte est devant lui,
Que ele l'a moult tost passé.
Moult a bien son point esgardé,
Et dit que il i entrera
Quant la porte endroit lui sera,
Que que il li doie avenir.
Atant voit le porte venir,
Si point la mule de raudon,
Et ele saut por l'esperon,
Si s'est en la porte ferue ;
Més ele s'est conséue
Par derriers si que de la queue
Près de la moitié li desneue."[1]

Welsh Seint Graal.[2]

"And then they beheld a castle coming within their view on level ground in the middle of a meadow ; and around the castle flowed a large river, and inside the castle they beheld large spacious halls and windows large and fair. They drew nearer toward the castle, and they perceived the castle turning with greater speed than the fastest wind they had ever known. And above on the castle they saw archers shooting so vigorously, that no armour would protect against one of the discharges they

[1] The same story is told in *Diu Crone*, ll. 12944 ff., ed. by H. Scholl, Stuttgart, 1852, Bibl. des Litt. Vereins. XXVII.

"Diu mûre was als ein glas
Berhtel, hôch unde glat,
Und was niergent kein stat
Weder ûzen noch inne,
. . . . . .
Den mûl er (Gawain), mit den sporn nam
Und rante in daz bürgetor
In sô gelîchem spor,
Daz er niergent an ruorte,
Wan daz diu porte zevuorte
Dem mûl hinden den zagel."

[2] John Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 302–3. See Robert Williams's edition *Seint Graal*, in selection from the Hengwrt MSS. vol. i. pp. 325–6 ; trans. pp. 649–50.

made. Besides this, there were men there blowing in horns. At the gate were lions."

Peredur is led into the castle by a damsel, who takes from him his shield and his spear to carry them before him.[1]

Prose *Perceval*, pp. 195–6.[2]

Lancelot and Gauvain "aprochent le chastel et voient qu'il tornoie tout environ plus tost que vent ne cort." A damsel tells them that it is "le chastel de Grant Esfort," and that Perceval only can enter. "'Et vos, sire,' fet-ele à Perceval, 'se vos volez entrer en cest chastel bailliez-moi vostre glaive et vostre escu, si le porterai avent por garentie.'" Perceval "fiert des esperons et s'an vet vers le chastel tant conme li chevaus le peut randre vers le chastel tornoient. Il fiert de l'espée a la porte. . . . Li lion et il ors enchaenné qui gardoient la porte s'anfouirent en lor travaus et li chastiax s'areste tout à un fes ; li archier cessèrent de traire ; il avoit III ponz devant le chastel, qui se levèrent tantost conme il fu outre."

An explanation of this turning castle is given on p. 197—"Ci se test li contes de Lancelot et de Monseignor Gauvain et dit que Perceval est ès chastel tornoient, de quoi Joseus nos raconta le verité et que Virgilles le fonda par l'air de son sans en tel manière, quant li philosophe alèrent querre le paradis terrestre, et fu prophétisié que li chastiax ne fineroit de tornoier très qu'à icele oure que li chevaliers i vendroit qui auroit le chief d'or et regart de lion et cuer d'acier et nonbril de virges pucele et tesches sanz vileignie et valor d'ome et foi et créance de Dieu, et cil chevaliers porteroit l'escu au Bon Sodoier qui le Sauvéor del monde despendi de la croiz."

The general resemblance of various bits of the material just presented to Chaucer's house of twigs must be at once apparent. Here are houses made of twigs, here are revolving houses, and here are furthermore turning castles into which a hero enters by means of a faithful animal or other guide. Yet, as we should expect, there is not a single house of any sort here that we are able to set up as even a likely source for Chaucer's "queynte

[1] Rhys, p. 332, says: "One would probably not greatly err in regarding the turning castle as a form of the abode of the king of the dead." One recalls in this connection the turning izba on fowl's legs, mentioned by Ralston and cited above. It is one home of the snake, a "male power of darkness." For a discussion of the revolving house in its relations with "the door that slams" and the "clashing rocks," see Appendix.

[2] Ed. Ch. Potvin, *Percival le Gallois*, Mons. 1866, vol. i.

hous." If the study which has been made of the other elements of the "place of Fame" has established any one fact, it is that Chaucer did not adopt or adapt slavishly for any of his imaginative descriptions a similar portrayal from an earlier writer. His position in regard to the description of the Palace of Fame was unique. If he had wished to present a picture, for instance, of the Palace of Fortune, he would have had definite models before him. But for the House of Fame, according to his new conception, he had no authority to cite or follow. He must create his picture, either purely out of his imagination or out of his imagination at work on the great storehouse of related traditional material. In the latter way, I believe, the place of fame arose; and as an important feature of his picture, the house of tidings. Now that Chaucer has given the goddess a magnificent palace, the material of the traditional house of Fama is useless, and the task is before him of constructing a new house of tidings. We may attempt an explanation of the completed building.

What significance, if any, do the actual twig-houses here assembled have in respect to the twig-house of Chaucer? It is, it must be admitted, a pretty far cry from the Irish wicker-house to Chaucer's revolving house of twigs. They have in common (1) the shape, (2) the actual material, (3) the method of construction. The wattle- or wicker-houses of the Celts were rectangular or oblong or circular in form; if oblong they would have sloping roofs (see p. 141). We may presume that Chaucer's house was oblong, since it was sixty miles in length. The material of the Irish houses was twigs. If colours appear, it is only when the wicker-work is plastered on the outside. The process of building has been described. For the "house of the old man" the wicker is to be woven (as basket-work). In the smaller wicker-houses, according to O'Curry, there must have been openings in the roof through which the smoke passed. These points in common between these actual twig-houses and Chaucer's house of twigs are deserving of attention when we have in mind—(1) The uniqueness, or assuredly the rare appearance in literature and the curious oddity of twig houses; (2) the extreme likelihood of Chaucer's acquaintance with these Celtic houses; (3) the important consideration that the idea of a revolving house may have occurred to Chaucer independently of (whether earlier or later than, I cannot say) the conception of a house of twigs.

The second of these considerations deserves to be emphasized. We must first recall the intimate connection between England and Ireland during the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. Edward III. took an active interest in the affairs of Ireland. I may quote here some interesting extracts from William Longman's *Life and Times of Edward III.*,[1] vol. ii. pp. 11 ff. Edward III., on his accession, issued ordinances for reformation in Ireland; providing, among other things, that all English proprietors of land in Ireland, whether lay or ecclesiastical, should either dwell on them, or provide soldiers for their defence against the Irish.

1341. The King ordered that all his officers who were married or who had estates in Ireland and none in England, should be removed and Englishmen having lands in England put in their places.

1353. Some of the chief settlers, forbidden to make themselves Irishmen and wearied with the everlasting strife with the ancient owners of the land, prepared to abandon Ireland. Edward, therefore, ordered that no man capable of bearing arms should leave the country.

1361. The King sends his son Lionel to Ireland. Lionel's first step was to forbid any man in Ireland to approach his camp; but he was soon driven to such straits by the Irish that on Feb. 10, 1362, the King issued writs declaring that "his very dear son and his companions in Ireland were in imminent peril," and ordering the absentee Lords to repair to Ireland to assist him. Lionel was in Ireland in 1363, in which year his wife died.

We may now turn to the reign of Richard II. In the Calendar of the Patent Rolls,[2] between 1377 and 1381, there are over seventy entries of letters for attorneys in Ireland of people coming to England, thirty entries for attorneys for persons going to or staying in Ireland. For other information we may look in Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*.[3]

Vol. ii. A.D. 1386. Earl of Oxford was created Duke of Ireland by Richard II. The King raised money for support of the Duke of Ireland's claims.[4]

[1] Two vols. Lond. 1869.
[2] Vol. i. Lond. 1895.—Rich. II.
[3] Ed. by H. T. Riley, Lond. 1863–1864, 2 vols. (Rolls Series).
[4] For an account of the close relations between the Duke of Ireland and Richard II., see *Historia vitae et regni Ricardi II.*, ed. by Tho. Hearne, Oxoniae, 1729, pp. 83–9.

1387. The King retires into Wales with the Duke of Ireland.

1394. The King crosses to Ireland, stays from about the Feast of the Nativity of Mary till after Easter.[1]

1399. Second expedition to Ireland.

So much for the general connection between England and Ireland during this period. The evidence that has been presented shows the entire likelihood that the Irish wicker-houses were known in England. We may be sure that Chaucer would have been one of the first to hear about such interesting things. His connection with the household of Lionel must not be forgotten. Prince Lionel stayed in Ireland long enough to learn much of the social conditions of the people, and on his return must have told many tales of that wild country. Through him or through some of his followers, Chaucer, though not then in his service, may have heard of these wicker-houses.

Chaucer's possible interest in Welsh things must also be considered. It will be sufficient for us to refer to what Professor Kittredge has to say about Sir John Clanvowe and Lewis Johan.[2] In 1381 and 1385 Sir John Clanvowe was a commissioner to survey the condition of Wales. In 1385, he obtained a grant "of the town, castle and lordship" of Haverford, "to hold as fully as the king's father held the same." Clanvowe was an associate of Sir Lewis Clifford, and there can be little doubt that the two were close friends. Their acquaintance with Chaucer must have been intimate. Clanvowe was Chaucer's poetic disciple. Of Lewis Johan, Professor Kittredge remarks (p. 452), "He was a vintner apparently well known at court (like Chaucer's father), and he acquired sufficient wealth to engage in the business of banking. It is not likely that any successful Londoner in Johan's business, and associated as he was with Scogan, Thomas Chaucer, and the Court, should have been unknown to Geoffrey Chaucer." The further suggestion is made here that Chaucer may have known of the "Bret Glascurion" (*H. of F.*, v. 1208) from Lewis Johan. Johan was born of a Welsh father and mother (see pp. 450, 451).

The evidence here presented in regard to the probability that

[1] See *Froissart*, trans. Lord Berners, six vols. 1901–1903. vol. vi. pp. 125 ff., for details of his visit.

[2] For the former, see 'Chaucer and some of his Friends,' *Modern Philology*, vol. i. No. 1, June 1903, pp. 16 ff.; for the latter, 'A Friend of Chaucer's,' in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, vol. 16, No. 31, 1901, pp. 450–2.

Chaucer knew and used for his description the Celtic wicker-house cannot be disregarded in an attempt to account for the material of his house of tidings. As I have said before, this new structure was almost certainly not Chaucer's own invention. He must have had suggestions for this material, and they must have come in the way of real or imaginary houses of twigs. It is not enough to say that the idea of the many openings in Fama's house would have alone suggested to Chaucer this twig-house of many "entrees." Nor do lines 1938–41, which explain the nature of the material—

> "Swiche as men to these cages thwyte,
> Or maken of these paniers,
> Or elles hottes or dossers,"

lessen the possibility of influence from twig-houses, since, as a matter of fact, the same material was used in building actual wicker-houses that would be employed in the making of "cages" or "paniers." A much more important observation in regard to Chaucer's use of the words "cages," etc., is that the poet, as Professor Kittredge suggests to me, uses these terms to impress upon his hearers the reality of the twig-house. He describes it in the manner of a traveller who is telling about a wonderful or curious house that he has seen. To many of the court-circle for whom this poem was doubtless written, a twig-house would be almost an unheard-of thing, and the poet needs to illustrate his account by a reference to such well-known objects as cages or baskets.

The second part of the illustrative material is composed of revolving houses; to a consideration of their significance we may now turn. The kinship of Chaucer's revolving house to the turning houses cited is close; and even more apparent does it become when we bring into its proper relation the entrance of the poet into the revolving house by the aid of his guide, the eagle. The words of the eagle, ll. 2000–2006,[1] give us the key to the situation. We have here the motive common to mediæval romantic fiction of a revolving house into which a hero may enter only by the aid of some person or animal. That Chaucer got his idea of a revolving house from some such stories as I have collected here seems practically certain. The question of an exact source is of course insolvable. He may have been influenced

[1] See *ante*, p. 139.

by some literary treatment of the motive; the notion may have come to him through some folk-tale. The motive of a revolving house, preserved as we have seen in folk-tales and artistic literature, is very old, having its origin seemingly in the myth-making days.[1] By what means it reached Chaucer, we do not know. Nor do we know in what shape it appealed to his imagination in the creation of his revolving house of twigs. The idea of the revolving house may have occurred to him independently of the motive of the helpful animal. Or, what is least likely, the remembrance of stories in which an animal assists a hero in his adventures may have brought to mind the revolving house. The most probable suggestion would be that from such a story as *La Mule sanz Frain*,[2] where the mule carries the hero into a turning castle. Given the device of the revolving house, however, as a point of departure, Chaucer would at once think of the helpful animal, for here is his eagle, waiting after his journey through the air for just such a service. This function of the eagle, as I have before indicated, did not occur to Chaucer before he came to the point of describing the house of tidings. The eagle has heretofore been a messenger and a guide, who is also a carrying animal; he has now become a helpful animal, the means by which the poet enters his revolving house. The explanation which is here suggested for the house of tidings, while allowing for other possible influences, points back most clearly to three definite sources: 1. for the sights and sounds to Ovid's account of the House of Fama; 2. for the material of the building, to the Celtic wicker-houses; 3. for the last important characteristic of the dwelling—that it is a revolving house into which the poet may enter only by means of the eagle—to revolving houses in romantic fiction, with most likely the additional element of the entrance of a hero through friendly assistance.

[1] See Appendix for note on relation of "revolving house" to "door that slams" and "clashing rocks."

[2] See pp. 148–9.

PART IV

The Meaning of the Hous of Fame.

In the foregoing parts of these studies in the *Hous of Fame*, I have purposely avoided the perlexing question of the "inner meaning" of the poem.[1] It is true that the theory presented in Part I. as to its essential nature—that it is a dream-poem written by a love-poet in honour of Love—suggests a possible explanation of its purpose. But it seemed unwise to discuss the question at length until all the material necessary to a study of the subject could be brought together and viewed in the light of what is, I believe, a clearer understanding than has been had before, of the form and subject-matter of this composite poem.

Critics of the *Hous of Fame*, almost without exception, find in the poem some autobiographical significance. It differs only in kind and degree. I may begin with the study of Chaucer by E. G. Sandras.[2] On p. 121 he says: "L'oiseau céleste

[1] Professor F. N. Robinson wrote in 1903, "The 'inner meaning' of the *Hous of Fame* is entirely a matter of conjecture" (*Jour. Comp. Lit.*, vol. i. No. 3, p. 292). For convenience I give here the most important references in regard to the interpretation of the poem.

E. G. Sandras, *Étude sur G. Chaucer*, Paris, 1859, pp. 116–125.

Ten Brink, *Studien*, 1870, pp. 102 ff., *Geschichte der Eng. Litt.* Band II. pp. 107–111, Strasburg, 1893.

A. Rambeau, *Chaucer's Hous of Fame in seinem Verhältniss zur Divina Commedia*, Eng. Stud. III. Separat Abdruck, 1880, pp. 10–15 (sec. 1).

H. Willert, *Hous of Fame.* Diss., Berlin, 1883, pp. 5–11.

J. Koch, *Anglia*, VII. App. 24; review of H. Willert.

A. C. Garrett, *Studies on the Hous of Fame; Harv. Stud. and Notes*, vol. v. 1898, pp. 151–176.

B. Frank Heath, *Works of Chaucer*, Globe ed. 1898, pp. xliii–xliv.

F. J. Snell, *Fourteenth Century*, Lond. 1899, pp. 303 ff.; *Age of Chaucer*, Lond. 1901, pp. 179–186.

Cino Chiarini, *Dante e una visione inglesa del trecento*—in *Rivista d'Italia*, January and March, 1901, March, pp. 446–455; *La Casa Della Fama*, Bari, 1902, pp. 69 ff.

W. P. Ker, *Essays on Mediæval Literature*, Lond. 1905, pp. 93, 94.

R. K. Root, *The Poetry of Chaucer*, Boston, 1906, pp. 123–134.

[2] I hope that no apology will be deemed necessary for the following lengthy abstracts. For an impartial consideration of the meaning of our poem it seems absolutely essential to present in the clearest light the opinions of previous critics, and such a requirement can be satisfied only by liberal quotations.

qui, par pitié pour l'isolement et la vieillesse du poëte, et du récompense de ses nombreux Ditiés, le transporte dans le Palais de la Renommée, est une allégorie facile á saisir. C'est l'âme généreuse, enchaînée à des soins vulgaires, qui s'arrache de temps à autre à la réalité! C'est le poëte qui se console du présent en entrevoyant l'avenir! De même la dernière partie du poëme, malgré les conceptions les plus grotesques, n'est que le développement de cette vérité, que la gloire, dans la distribution des ses faveurs, est aussi capricieuse que la fortune."

Ten Brink in his *Studien*, pp. 102 ff., accepts with a slight modification Sandras's opinion, and adds his own estimate.—Chaucer led a solitary and laborious life at the time when he wrote the *Hous of Fame*. "Der Tempel der Venus" is "der Zauber-kreis der Dichtung." The eagle represents Philosophy. Chaucer is dissatisfied with his reputation. "Auch das musste der Dichter in seinem arbeitsvollen Stillleben schmerzlich, vielleicht schmerzlicher als alles übrige empfinden, dass man ihm, dem Reformator der englischen Dichtung, dem Schöpfer so bedeutender Werke so wenig Beachtung schenkte. Oder war es vielleicht ein Zeichen hinreichender Würdigung, dass man ihn elf Jahre lang (1374–1384) die Zoll-controle unter der Bedingung verwalten liess, dass er die Register eigenhändig schreibe und alles zu seinem Amt gehörige selbst verrichte?"

P. 110.—"So hat unser Dichter im *Hous of Fame* einen selbsterlebten psychologischen Vorgang in humoristischer Weise dargestellt und durch diese Darstellung selbst von dem ihm anklebenden Pathos sich gereinigt. Keine zweite unter seinen Dichtungen hat einen so persönlichen Character wie diese, und das ist ein neuer Punkt in dem sie sich mit der göttlichen Komödie berührt."

A. Rambeau in Sec. I. of his article thinks that the poem represents Chaucer's mental and material condition, just as the *Divine Comedy* expresses Dante's life-experience. Pp. 11 ff.—"Sowol der Verfasser der *Divina Commedia* als der Dichter des *Hous of Fame* schauen bereits auf ein ziemlich langes, arbeitsreiches Leben zurück; beide haben einen Punkt in ihrem Leben erreicht, wo sie sich unglücklich fühlen und mit sich und ihrer Lage unzufrieden sind. . . . Das Leben des englischen Dichters hat sich trotz seines eifrigen Strebens und Schaffens so gestaltet, dass er sich gedrückt und gedemüthigt fühlen muss. . . . Chaucer

wird in den Stand gesetzt, den Palast des Ruhmes und den Palast des Gerüchts zu sehen, um sich von der Nichtigkeit des Ruhmes zu überzeugen, nach dem er vergeblich gestrebt hat, da er noch immer trotz seiner bisherigen litterarischen Leistungen ziemlich unbekannt ist, und um 'new tidings' zu hören, nach denen er sich in seinem vereinsamten Leben gesehnt hat, so dass er dadurch getröstet und mit seinem Geschick versöhnt wird und gestärkt und erfrischt an seine Arbeit zurückkehren kann. . . . Es ist die Philosophie, die unter dem allegorischen Bild eines göttlichen Sendboten Dante sowol als Chaucer über ihren traurigen Zustand emporhebt und sie zur Erkenntniss der Wahrheit führt."

H. Willert, in his dissertation on the *Hous of Fame*, pp. 5–11, agrees in general with ten Brink's ideas as expressed in the *Studien*. He points out (p. 7) that Chaucer leaves the temple of Venus of his own free-will, that the study of the old poets no longer satisfies him, that he wishes to mingle with men. The telling of the story of Dido indicates that he was unfortunate in love.[1] The eagle is sent not only to give him recompense for toil, but because he is unfortunate in love. Chaucer does not wish, thinks Willert, to express in his poem that he wishes greater ame than he has.

Chaucer had for a long time, continues Willert, studied the old masters, and now he is not wholly satisfied with them. He resolves therefore to say farewell to his books and to mingle with men. But he is not fitted for the activities of the world, and in this mood he begins to philosophize. End of First Book. Now, he gives himself up to philosophizing. He has little of the world's goods, but heaven indemnifies him by the fantasy of the poet. This is the sense of the speech of the eagle, and this speech is the argument of the whole poem.[2] All the time our knowledge of nature increases; we know the stars, and the earth now appears small. At the end of the second book, the question may be asked, Is Fame also transitory? In

[1] Mr. F. J. Snell (*Fourteenth Century*, pp. 303 ff.) repeats Willert's idea.— "Chaucer, moreover, had not been happy in love, and it is for that reason that the walls of the Temple of Venus are glum [*surely only to the critic looking for a confession of the poet's personal experience*] with the story of Æneas, and more particularly with Dido's martyrdom."

[2] The latter part of this sentence is certainly true; concerning the former opinions may differ.

the third book Chaucer realizes the transitoriness of Fame, and he is satisfied with the possession of this poetic fantasy.

Willert now asks (p. 11), What is, in a word, "der Inhalt des Gedichts?" "Es ist," he answers, "die Weihe Chaucers zum Dichter, er fühlt sich nicht mehr als Schüler der Franzosen und Italiener, sondern er weiss, dass ein Gott ihm selbst die Gabe der Dichtkunst verliehen hat, dass er mit allen andern in die Schranken treten kann. So erhalten wir einen innern Grund mehr dafür, dass das *Hous of Fame* der Abschluss der zweiten Periode in Chaucers dichterischem Schaffen oder ein Übergangsglied zur dritten, seiner selbstständigsten, ist." [1]

In the second volume of his *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur*, pp. 107 ff., ten Brink adds to his observations in the *Studien*. P. 107—"Zog er die Summe seines Lebens, so musste er fast Mitleid mit sich selber empfinden: ein Liebesdichter, dem nie das erhoffte Liebesglück zu Theil geworden; ein weltfreudiges, nach neuen Eindrücken und Erfahrungen stets dürstendes Gemüth, das zum Einsiedlerleben verdammt war; . . . Was half ihm sein Fleiss, sein Talent? . . . ob sein Name in unverwelklichem Ruhm erglänzen würde, wie der seiner grossen Meister, wenn sein Gebein längst zu Asche geworden?

"Freilich, wenn er in einsamen Stunden las oder concipirte, das ward es ihm hell im Busen, und die enge Zelle schien sich zu erweitern. Er dünkte sich allein in einem leuchtenden, durchsichtigen Tempel. . . . Sobald er jedoch aus jenem Zauberkreis heraustritt, findet er sich in trostloser Oede, wie in einer endlosen Sandwüste. Nicht selten mögen ihm trübe Stunden gekommen sein, die ihm jenes Gefühl erregten. Doch nicht dauernd blieb er in ihrem Bann befangen. Philosophische Betrachtung, wie er sie mit Hülfe des Boetius und Dantes üben gelernt, helfen ihm darüber hinweg. . . . Im Geiste baut er sich die Burg der Fama auf. . . . Alles, was er über die Fama-Ruhm wie Gerüchterfährt, gibt ihm Grund genug, sich zu resigniren, mit seinem Geschick sich auszusöhnen und gleichmüthig in die Zukunft zu blicken.—So stellte Chaucer in dem liebenswürdig bedeutenden Gedicht das *Hous der Fama* einen Process geistiger Selbstbefreiung mit heiterer Laune und feiner Kunst dar, indem er durch die Darstellung selber seine Befreiung vollendete."

[1] J. Koch, in his review of Willert's dissertation, says that if the *Hous of Fame* does represent a turning-point in Chaucer's works, it must have been earlier than the *Troilus*.

A new theory as to the meaning of the poem is that presented by Dr. A. C. Garrett—"A suspicion that the meaning (of the allegory) is the inner experience of a man with whom the poet chooses to identify himself, is produced, in the broadest terms, by the fact that the first part of the poem is concerned with a Temple of Venus and the latter part with a Temple of Fame. For if the former be understood to represent the peculiar interests of youth—love and its affairs—and the latter the special interest of mature life—ambition and the winning of a name—a striking plan and purpose begin to emerge."

"One might suggest," he continues, "as a working hypothesis, that the poem is allegorical of the successive interests, intellectual or literary, of the person who calls himself 'I,' with glimpses of his inner development in a more intimate sense." Mr. Garrett further says that the whole tendency of the *Hous of Fame* is in the direction of that stage of thought and art in which human life and character were Chaucer's absorbing interest.

"In his present position he (Chaucer) gets little news of people (ll. 644–51); the eagle comes to give him the chance to learn more of men (664, 673–98); his object in looking through Fame's house is the same (1088, 1885–89); and that object he appears to attain when he reaches the House of Rumour (1910–15, 1997 ff., 2121–30). The poem appears, then, like a summing up of the poet's past experience made just before he entered the new stage referred to. . . . The probability of this view may be somewhat increased by observing that from time to time the poet evidently draws close to conditions of his own life, permitting thin spots to occur in the texture of his allegory, where reality shows through." Mr. Garrett refers then to ll. 622–60, 1876–82, 644–51 and 1886–89, 2011–18.

"The Temple of Venus," continues Mr. Garrett, "stands for the stage where love was the end of existence (cf. ll. 616–19); in connection with this Chaucer chooses the story of the Æneid to represent his intellectual interests, with possibly already a desire to efface the effect of his *Troylus* by a contrary instance of fidelity and desertion. Issuing from the temple he stands in a plain of unusual desolation, where he fears malign demonic influence; this must represent a period of especial unhappiness and of doubt approaching despair; it may well stand for the dreary listlessness, the disillusion of love outgrown. Without appealing to any

'lost love,' one might well take it to represent a man emerging from a life of idle gaiety to find himself facing realities and linked to a wife who at best did not satisfy his ideals or sustain his love. But as he looks towards heaven, a new interest swims into his ken—the eagle, which probably represents philosophy. This period of philosophic interests having included if not occasioned some of Chaucer's best literary work, the possibility or partial realization of national fame is now presented to him."

Mr. Garrett further thinks that Chaucer apparently split in two the conception of the House of Fame from Ovid for the requirements of the personal allegory. "Chaucer represents himself as being allowed to enter provisionally, as it were, into the convocation of great men. The prospect does not please him; it is manifestly not what he craves; and so a further step is devised, and he is brought into a place more like the real world condensed —a place where, amid infinite scandals, meanness, and lies, there is the incessant appetizing chance of hitting upon exactly what he longs for."

An extension of the scope of the allegory of the *Hous of Fame* is suggested by Mr. F. J. Snell. "The *Hous of Fame*," he says, "was at once a philosophical study of his individual case, and a skilfully contrived appeal to his earthly Jove[1] for consideration. We know that this was not his first use of *double entendre*, and it says much for Chaucer's delicate tact that, as in the past, so now allusion sufficed, and he was soon in the enjoyment of a comfortable sinecure."[2]

The striking peculiarity of all these interpretations of the *Hous of Fame* is their agreement in attaching to the poem considerable autobiographical significance. The general idea prevails among these critics that Chaucer employs the device of a dream in which he journeys to the House of Fame to portray his own experience, whether literary, material, or spiritual. In the light of what is known of Chaucer through his other works, the student who approaches this poem at the end of a long time of learned criticism may, even in the face of this unanimity of opinion, be justified in doubting the justness and hence in trying to discover the reason of so settled a conviction as to the meaning of the poem. For where else in Chaucer's works has any one discovered a personal confession at all approaching the

[1] Richard II. [2] *Age of Chaucer*, p. 180.

subtlety and—if we should give credence to authority—the consistency and completeness of this allegorical portrayal? Rare indeed are even the hints which may be discovered of Chaucer the man in his attitude toward his life-work. This, at the outset, should be one very good cause of hesitancy in ascribing too much personal significance to the *Hous of Fame.*

A second reason for doubt is connected with a partial reason for the persistence of the "autobiographical theory"—this is the connection which has been so long maintained between the *Hous of Fame* and Dante's *Divine Comedy.* Granted that the form and the "images and pageants" of this dream are due to Dante, the similarity of the life-story told in each poem becomes to many critics at once apparent. The general acceptance of the theory of an imitation of Dante's poem is responsible in large measure for the general agreement as to the autobiographical significance of Chaucer's *Hous of Fame.* For, except in the case of Mr. Garrett, every adherent to the "autobiographical theory" accepts, I believe, the corresponding theory of the dependence of the poem on the *Divine Comedy.* And even Mr. Garrett's opinion is determined fundamentally by the theories built up by ten Brink and Rambeau. But now that the erroneousness of these theories has been satisfactorily demonstrated,[1] the student has one more reason for doubting the justness of the conventional estimate of the meaning of the poem.[2]

There is yet a further consideration which has affected the acceptation of the "autobiographical theory"—the date of the poem. If we date the *Hous of Fame* about 1384, Mr. Garrett's theory that the "House of Fame represents the interests of mature life," that "the possibility or partial realization of national fame is now presented to him," and so on, would be in a way supported. So likewise would Dr. Willert's opinion that "das *Hous of Fame* der Abschluss der zweiten Periode in Chaucer's dichterischem Schaffen oder ein Übergangsglied zur dritten, seiner selbstständigsten, ist." We might also give some attention to Mr. Snell's estimate that Chaucer is here making an appeal to Richard II. But if we accept, as I feel we must, Professor Lowes's theory,[3]

[1] See T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, vol. ii. pp. 242–248; F. R. Robinson, *Jour. Comp. Lit.*, vol. i. No. 3, pp. 292–297; Part II. of the present discussion.

[2] Professor Robinson (*op. cit.* p. 296) suggests that the interpretation of the *Hous of Fame* is the result of reading Chaucer too much in the light of Dante.

[3] *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, vol. xx. No. 4 (1905), pp. 854–862.

that the *Hous of Fame* was composed about 1379—that is, before the *Troilus*, *Parlement*, and probably the *Boece*—the force of these arguments is very decidedly weakened. And even if the date of the poem be left in the same parlous state as before, the value of evidence in regard to the meaning of the poem based on any assumed date is extremely dubious—so dubious that the resulting opinion must be regarded merely as an (it may be interesting) hypothesis.

We are now, I hope, in a better position to attempt an explanation of the meaning of the *Hous of Fame*. For, in the first place, if we may judge from what we know of Chaucer's attitude in his other works, we are not looking for any sort of personal confession in the poem. It may be there, but other things being equal, we must not expect that it will be. Then we are rid of that pertinacious obsession in favour of a similarity of recorded experience in the *Hous of Fame* and the *Divine Comedy*. And finally, we are disinclined to accept any theory as to the meaning of the poem which must rest on an extremely unlikely date of composition. These considerations, if they are sound, surely represent an important advance in an effort to explain the poem. By emphasizing certain trustworthy negations, we have prepared the way for a study of the poem as it stands, for an explanation of its meaning which shall rest fundamentally upon our understanding of the poem, unhampered or uninfluenced by any preconceived notions of its sources or date.

But before we approach the positive side of an argument for a certain interpretation of this poem, let us consider, more or less in detail, what effect the objections which have just now been raised may have on the various theories here presented. Rambeau's opinions (pp. 157–158) and ten Brink's (pp. 157 and 159), rest almost wholly on the assumed relations between the *Hous of Fame* and the *Divine Comedy*, and they must now stand or fall by their own intrinsic worth.[1] It is not my purpose to attempt a rebuttal of these opinions or of those that follow. The burden of proof is now more than ever on those who, by an appeal to a sustained allegory, argue for any autobiographical significance in the poem. I may simply call attention to the weakness of the arguments quoted above now that they are unsupported by the considerations referred to on pages 161–163. The Temple of Venus

[1] For a discussion of these theories at some length, see Part II.

as the magic circle of poetry, the comfortless desert as soon as Chaucer leaves the temple, the eagle as a symbol of philosophy, the House of Fame, which causes him to be resigned to his fate—all these supposedly allegorical portrayals have lost much of their significance. And these furnish the foundation for the structure of the "autobiographical" theories. Moreover, with the date 1384 out of court, Mr. Garrett's theory (pp. 160–161) is practically worthless. If the *Hous of Fame* was written before the *Troilus* and the *Parlement* it cannot be "allegorical of the successive interests, intellectual or literary, of the person who calls himself 'I'," when those interests, according to Mr. Garrett, are supposed to extend to the time of mature life. We can no longer (thinking of Dante's experience symbolized by the "dark forest" and of the late date of the *Hous of Fame*) say with Mr. Garrett, if we could ever say it, that the "plain of unusual desolation" may well be taken to represent a man emerging from a life of idle gaiety to find himself linked to a wife who at best did not satisfy his ideals or sustain his love.[1]

The short discussion which I have given to these "autobiographical" theories as they are affected by recent studies, with the liberal quotations from the theories themselves, has, I hope, given us the proper background for further study of the meaning of the *Hous of Fame*. Since the "autobiographical theory" has been so widely accepted, it must be our first task to consider the actual lines in the poem which, without any hint of a hidden allegory, may represent bits of Chaucer's actual experience. The complete references are as follows:—

Ll. 652–660—

> "For whan thy labour don al is,
> And hast mad al thy rekeninges,
> In stede of reste and newe thinges,
> Thou gost hoom to thy hous anoon;
> And, also domb as any stoon,
> Thou sittest at another boke,
> Til fully daswed is thy loke,
> And livest thus as an hermyte,
> Although thyn abstinence is lyte."

[1] No one of course has the least right to say that Chaucer led a life of idle gaiety. Moreover, it is time that poor Philippa Chaucer should cease to be persecuted. There is not a particle of evidence to prove that Chaucer was unhappily married. Cf. Tudor Jenks, *In the Days of Chaucer*, New York, 1904, pp. 95–99.

Ll. 992 ff.—The eagle asks Chaucer if he wishes to learn aught of the stars. Chaucer replies,

Ll. 994–5—

> " 'Nay, certeinly . . . right naught;
> And why? for I am now to old.' "

Ll. 1348–9. The hall of Fame is plated with gold,

> " As fyn as ducat in Venyse,
> Of whiche to lyte al in my pouche is."

Ll. 1872 ff.—One that stands at his back asks Chaucer,

> " 'Artow come hider to han fame?'
> 'Nay, forsothe, frend!' quod I;
> 'I cam noght hider, graunt mercy!
> For no swich cause, by my heed!
> Suffyceth me, as I were deed,
> That no wight have my name in honde.
> I woot my-self best how I stonde;
> For what I drye or what I thinke,
> I wol myselven al hit drinke,
> Certyn, for the more part,
> As ferforth as I can myn art.' "

Ll. 2007 ff.—Speech of the eagle.

> " But sith that Joves, of his grace,
> As I have seyd, wol thee solace
> Fynally with [swiche] thinges,
> Uncouthe sightes and tydinges,
> To passe with thyn hevinesse,
> Suche routhe hath he of thy distresse,
> That thou suffrest debonairly,
> And wost thy-selven utterly
> Disesperat of alle blis,
> Sith that Fortune hath maad a-mis
> The [fruit] of al thyn hertes reste
> Languisshe and eek in point to breste—
> That he, through his mighty meryte,
> Wol do thee ese, al be hit lyte,
> And yaf express commaundement,
> To whiche I am obedient,
> To further thee with al my might,
> And wisse and teche thee aright
> Wher thou maist most tydings here."

Let us see if there is any personal significance in these references which may throw some light on the meaning of the poem. The theory, based on ll. 652–660, ll. 1872 ff., and ll. 2007 ff., that the poet feels himself oppressed, that he is discontented with his life, that he is dissatisfied with his fame, cannot be justly

maintained on the strength of the lines cited.[1] Chaucer's mood is throughout jovial and bright. He tells us, ll. 652–660, that after a hard day's labour at his "rekeninges," he goes home and sits at his books, instead of seeking rest or frivolous things; indeed he lives thus as an hermit. But the last line,

"Although thyn abstinence is lyte,"

showing the jovial mood of the poet, gives us the key to the situation. Chaucer is reviewing his manner of life from the point of view of a poet who is at the same time a man of affairs. And he may feel even now, that a comfortable chair among his books of Love and other story would be far preferable to a stool at the custom-house. Yet, if we are justified in inferring any actual experience from this poetic expression of the eagle, we feel sure that Chaucer accepts the conditions imposed upon him as a necessary part of his life-work. And in these few lines of a personal nature in a poem which, both from its form and its leading motive, must necessarily have many expressions of a seemingly individual purport, Chaucer the poet refers half jestingly to the lamentable condition from which the eagle has been commissioned by Jupiter to deliver him. The passage is nothing more than a clever allusion to his experience in the *rôle* of a poet, with an incidental mention of his material occupation.

The next quotation which is thought to be an expression of personal experience is that beginning l. 1872. Chaucer tells the man at his back how little he cares for fame. Willert is surely right in saying that Chaucer does not wish in his poem to express that he wishes greater fame than he has. Merely because a poet chooses to say that he knows how he stands and that he is satisfied to have given poetic expression to his ideas and does not care for people to talk about him when he is dead, is no reason for attributing to him a dissatisfaction with his meed, especially when such a declaration occurs in a poem which a certain critic has been pleased to call "one of the most casual" of all of Chaucer's works.[2] No evidence as to the meaning of the poem is to be found in this bit of personal testimony.

[1] For a partial criticism of this theory see Part II. pp. 46–48. Koch, *Eng. Stud.* 36, I., 1905, p. 142, in commenting on the passage supposed to refer to Chaucer's weariness, says it is "keine ausdrückliche Klage—doch eine stumme Bitte, ein inniger Wunsch nach grösserer Freiheit . . . neue Werke . . . zu schaffen."

[2] W. P. Ker, *Mediæval Studies*, p. 74.

The speech of the eagle, ll. 2007 ff., is the last of the passages in the *Hous of Fame* which are supposed to contain allusions to Chaucer's unhappiness and to his despair in achieving poetic fame. Here, as in the other two quotations, I find no actual condition of discontent. It is to be observed that ll. 652–660 and ll. 2007 ff. are spoken by the eagle, who is telling the poet why Jupiter wishes to reward him; that the lines in question are closely bound up with the remedy offered by the lord of the universe—that is, a visit to the house of tidings, where Chaucer will hear much of Love's servants. With this consideration in mind, we see at once the obvious interpretation of the passage. Chaucer is here the poet of Love, nothing more. He has served the god of Love faithfully, so faithfully indeed, that he has never had time or opportunity to hear many tidings of this powerful god and his subjects. Now the poet must make his fancy as real as possible to the court circle. He employs the device of a guide and heaven-sent messenger, who is privileged to declare the purpose of the journey. In this last passage, Chaucer allows the eagle to emphasize the condition in which the poet finds himself. For this purpose, the eagle makes Chaucer more than a poet who has served Cupid faithfully; he is really in the position, or is represented as having the symptoms, of the conventional lover who is ever in distress until he is rewarded for his loyalty by his mistress, whom he has long adored. The "hevinesse" and the suffering here are the fanciful experiences of the lover,[1] applied to Chaucer, who is likewise a servant of Love, and is to be rewarded by a visit to the house where, in the words of the eagle to the poet, he may "most tydings here." The passage has no autobiographical significance. It does, in a way which needs not to be insisted on here, confirm the theory which I have to offer in this section as to the real meaning of the poem.

The remaining references which may point to some actual experiences are easily disposed of. Ll. 1348–9 may indicate in a casual way that Chaucer was not affluent. But this information throws no light on the reason for his dream-poem. Nor do ll. 994–5, in which Chaucer says that he is too old to learn of the stars, afford any additional evidence. The allusion has doubtless no significance whatever.

[1] See Chaucer's 'Eight Years' Sickness' in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Dec. 1905 (vol. xx. No. 8, pp. 240–243).

Our study of the interpretation of the *Hous of Fame* has now reached the point where the question of its meaning must be approached more from the positive side. For it has been shown that the various attempts to explain the poem as an allegory of autobiographical import rest fundamentally upon what are clearly errors of fact and criticism, namely, the late date usually ascribed to the poem and the imitation by Chaucer of the *Divine Comedy*. The force of these theories is hence considerably weakened. It is furthermore patent that no evidence in support of the "autobiographical theory" is to be adduced from the various passages referring directly to the "I" of the poem. What then is the meaning of the *Hous of Fame?* How did it arise in Chaucer's mind? What is the reason for the existence of this fantastic dream-poem?

The answer to these questions was suggested by the definition of the poem which I offered in Part I. "It is a love-vision of the literary *genre* to which belong such poems as *Le Roman de la Rose*, Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours* and Chaucer's *Duchesse*." [1] The motive of the dream, that is the motive of the poem, is, then, that of a journey to the House of Fame where he, Chaucer, shall hear tidings of Love; it is the reward which a love-poet is to receive for his services to Love and to Love's servants." [2] Such a definition is the foundation of the explanation which I now wish to offer. For the sake of greater accuracy, we may assume without much opposition, I think, that the poem is to be dated before the *Parlement* and the *Troilus*, probably about 1379. Chaucer's primary purpose was, I believe, to write a dream-poem on the subject of Love. He may have wished to present to his circle of hearers or readers a picture of lovers and their doings. His rapidly growing interest in actual life accounts well enough for such a tendency on the poet's part. It is all very well for other love-poets to write mythological or allegorical visions of the worship of Love in which the actual, the concrete, is abandoned for the sake of poetic fancy. But Chaucer's taste for love-poetry, his interest in these dream-poems of Love, is characterized almost always by a feeling, however obscured it may be in some instances, for the realities of experience which are so well portrayed in his later poems. In the present poem he has a chance to show this feeling strongly.

[1] Part I. p. 13. [2] Part I. p. 15.

This idea of representing lovers and their experiences is uppermost in Chaucer's mind. But what is to be said for the Fame material from the classics? It really determines the special characteristics displayed in the structure of the poem—that is, the journey through the air to a house of tidings—and must have occurred to Chaucer at the outset of his composition. Yet I am by no means ready to admit that the Fame material suggested the poem. What Chaucer is at the moment most interested in is the idea of the worship of Love which was then filling the minds of contemporary poets. He sees in this Fame material an excellent opportunity to write a love-poem which would appeal to the court of Richard II. The dream form for his love-poem is almost a matter of course. Here then is the genesis of his poem. No personal feeling in regard to the unfairness of the awards of Fame moves him to its composition; no desire to clothe in an allegory his experience in love, or poetry, or in the world of striving; no longing for greater favour from his "earthly Jove"; no intention to imitate by means of a disguised personal confession the sublimity of the revelation of the "grete poete of Itaile."[1]

If the simple explanation just given for the inception of the poem be sound, we may follow with some confidence the journey of the poet, expecting to find on the whole a consistent general adherence to the original idea. He enters first the temple of glass, dedicated to the goddess of Love. The purpose of this picture—of the goddess in her temple and the story of Dido and Æneas graven on the walls—is decorative or poetical. It has no hidden meaning. Chaucer does here what, as I have shown before,[2] other love poets were doing at the same time. The excellence of the description and the individuality of touch, which it seems almost superfluous to refer to again, alone distinguish the English poet's portraiture, in quality but not in kind or significance, from the work of his contemporaries.

Leaving the temple of Venus, we come now to the *rôle* of the eagle and to the journey through the air. If we forget entirely the unfounded theory of an imitation of the *Divine Comedy*, we shall find here likewise no symbolic representation of Chaucer's personal plight. The eagle has no other significance than that

[1] See also Part III. pp. 113–114.
[2] Part III. chap. iii. pp. 80 ff.

so delightfully and openly expressed in the second book. This royal bird of Jove is the messenger sent to guide the poet to the place where he shall hear news of Love's servants. All of this conversation between the eagle and Chaucer with reference to the poet's sad conditions grows inevitably in the mind of a highly imaginative poet out of the primary conception of the poem. It was a happy idea, and entirely in keeping with his numerous consciously puzzling references to his experiences as a servant of Love, for Chaucer to represent himself as having laboured long in the service of "Cupido and fair Venus," also "without guerdoun ever yit," and as now to have a partial reward. With this idea in mind, he is bound to make his description as personal and life-like as possible. The very fact that this is so well done is responsible for the interesting but none the less erroneous theory that Chaucer here makes a personal confession by means of the allegorical bird and his garrulous chatter. The speech of the eagle, ll. 607–710, does give us information, whether fanciful or real, about the condition of the poet. Yet unless a study of the remaining parts of the poem may point in that direction we have no grounds for assuming that we have here a personal allegory. So far, the evidence of the passage supports merely the theory suggested before, that the *Hous of Fame* is fundamentally a pure love-poem with no suspicion of a hidden meaning.

The significance of the "place" of Fame remains to be considered. The idea of fame or worldly honour is brought out so prominently here that we are led almost inevitably to think that this subject must have been responsible for this dream-poem. But a careful study of the elements of the third book in relation to the rest of the poem proves fairly conclusively that this idea of fame in the abstract as a determining factor in the development of the poem does not present itself until the opening of the third book, where Chaucer has before him the task of describing the House of Fame. A justification of this view has been attempted previously,[1] and I will merely sum up the conclusions there reached. The classical idea of Fame as a messenger and of her house as a house of tidings is preserved untouched until Chaucer comes to the description of the "place" of Fame. Before this point, he is simply concerned with writing

[1] See Part I. pp. 15 ff.

a poem on the subject of Love, in which the happy idea of representing Love's servants in the house of Fame forms the determining factor. The influence of the mediæval conception of the goddesses of Love and Fortune with their homes, joined with his own reflection on abstract fame—which of course did not arise in Chaucer's mind just at this stage in the progress of the poem, but did become operative just then—is responsible for this unique portrayal of the goddess of Fame or Worldly Honour. His original idea, however, is by no means forgotten; for the description of the house of tidings, at the end or surely near the end of his poem, is the logical outcome of the declaration of the eagle—that the journey is to be taken to the place where this deserving love-poet shall hear news of "love and swich thinges glade."

There is, however, a possibility which suggests itself, not only here, but now that we have reached the end of the "journey," as a determinating factor in the whole poem. Granted that Chaucer is here writing a love-vision, is it not possible that this idea of fame may have been in his mind at the outset, and that he uses this literary form of the love-vision to clothe his idea? His reading has at this time brought the subject of fame or renown prominently before him. He thinks to write a poem about the worldly honour and reputation of men. He knows that a dream-poem on the subject of love would make the strongest appeal to his audience. Then why not clothe his serious matter in the comely and attractive garments of a love-dream? He has before told an actual love-story—that of the Duchesse—by means of a dream. Moreover, he has many examples before him of poems in which the subject-matter is concealed under and yet disclosed by some poetic device.

These considerations and others might be brought forward to show the likelihood of such a possibility. Yet the evidence offered by the poem itself is to my mind definitely conclusive that such is not the state of the case. Chaucer has given in his own words or in the speeches of the eagle too many assertions as to the reasons for the journey, which give us the meaning of the poem, to leave any doubt in my mind as to his essential purpose. It is impossible to conceive, after what is said by the eagle (ll. 606–710), to take one instance, that Chaucer had the idea of worldly fame in mind. He would have had no reason for

deceiving his audience in this particular. If he had had in his thought the idea of worldly fame, he could very well have written a poem on the fame of lovers, and such a poem would have pleased his audience. But he is interested in what lovers are doing; he wants to hear tidings of love, "discords" and "jelousyes," "murmurs" and "novelryes." He know that his hearers will be interested in the wonderful things that he shall see on his journey and in the happenings at his goal. He is concerned only with telling this "love-story"; and it is only in the third book, where he is practically forced to abandon his original idea, and then is carried on by the greatness of and inherent interest in this new conception to expand his ideas, that he seemingly departs from the tentative plan laid down at the outset. The persistence of the original purpose and the consistency with which he carries out the expressed object of his journey, are shown, however, most strikingly, by his picture, at the end, of the house of tidings—the house in which he is finally satisfied, for here he learns "wonder thinges" of "Love's folke"—a happy recompense for all his labours in their behalf.

APPENDIX.

(THE "revolving house" connected with the "door that slams" and the "clashing rocks.")

Chaucer's "revolving house" assumes a further element of interest in the light of the relation that exists between this motive of legendary fiction and that of the "clashing rocks," or the "door that slams."[1] I will not presume to discuss here the origin, assuredly far back in the ages of myth and belief, of what with Chaucer, for instance, must have been only an interesting poetic device. It seems worth while, however, merely to bring together related stories with some occasional comments that have been made by scholars, and to indicate at times resemblances to the stories of the revolving houses which were given in my study of Chaucer's house of tidings.

In his *Primitive Culture*, Tylor refers to some mythic descriptions among the Karens, Algonquins, and Aztecs.

The Karens of Birma.—They say that in the west there are two massive strata of rocks which are perpetually opening and shutting, and between these strata the sun descends at sunset.

Ottawa Tale of Iosco,—a legend evidently founded on a myth of day and night. Iosco and his friends travel for years eastward to reach the sun and come at last to the dwelling of Manabozho near the edge of the world, and then, a little beyond, to the chasm to be passed on the way to the Sun and Moon. . . . The sky would come down with violence, but it would rise slowly and gradually. . . . Iosco and one of his friends leapt through and gained a foothold on the other side; but the other two were fearful and undecided, and when their companion called to them through the darkness, "Leap! leap! the sky is on its way down," they looked up and saw it descending, but, paralyzed by fear, they sprang so feebly that they only reached the other side with their hands, and the sky at the same moment

[1] This connection, which I believe is here for the first time indicated, was suggested to me by Professor Kittredge, to whom I am also indebted for the essential references. Of these, I may mention especially E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 2 vols. London, 1891, vol. i. pp. 347 ff., and Ludwig Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, 2 vols. Berlin, 1889, vol. i. pp. 263–4.

striking violently on the earth with a dreadful sound, forced them into the dreadful black abyss.[1]

"On the suggestion of this group of solar conceptions and that of Maui's death," Mr. Tylor remarks: "we may perhaps explain as derived from a broken-down solar myth, that famous episode of Greek legend, where the good ship *Argo* passed between the Symplegades, those two high cliffs that opened and closed again with swift and violent collision."[2]

P. 349—"In the funeral ritual of the Aztecs, there is found a like description of the first peril that the shade had to encounter on the road leading to that subterranean Land of the Dead, which the sun lights when it is night on earth. Giving the corpse the first of the passports that were to carry him safe to his journey's end, the survivors said to him, 'With these you will pass between the two mountains that smite one against the other.'"[3]

The legend of the Argo and the Symplegades referred to by Tylor is as follows—

"Nach seiner Befreiung von den Harpyien belehrte nun Phineus die Argonauten über ihre Fahrt, namentlich auch über die Symplegaden. Diess waren gewaltige Felsen im Meere, welche, von heftigen Winden getrieben, gegenseitig zusammen stiessen, und so die Durchfahrt durch's Meer versperrten. Dabei stieg dichter Nebel von ihnen auf, und das Zusammenschlagen verursachte ein ensetzliches Gekrach. . . . Auf diese Nachricht hin segelten sie ab und liessen, als sie in die Nähe der Felsen gekommen waren, eine wilde Taube vom Vordertheile des Schiffs abfliegen. Sie flog glücklich hindurch, doch so, dass das Zusammenschlagen der Felsen ihr noch das Ausserste des Schwanges hinwegnahm. Die Seefahrer nahmen nun den Augenblick wahr, da die Felsen auseinanderfuhren, ruderten dann hitzig drauf los, und kamen mit hülfe der Here, welche das

[1] Tylor's note.—Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 40, etc.; Loskiel, *Geschichte der Mission*, Barby, 1789, p. 47. See also Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 63. In an Esquimaux tale Giviok comes to the two mountains which shut and open: paddling swiftly between, he gets through, but the mountains clashing together crush the stern of his kayak. Rink, *Eskimoische Eventyr og Sagn*, p. 98, referred to by Liebrecht (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1872, p. 1290), who refers to a Birmese legend in Bastian, O. A., vol. ii. p. 515, and a Mongol legend, *Gesser Chan*, Book IV.

[2] Tylor's note. See Apollodor. I. 9, 22.—Apollon. Rhod., *Argonautica*, ii. 310–616; Pindar, *Pythia Carm.*, iv. 370.

[3] Tylor's note. Kingsborough, *Antiquities of Mexico*, vol. i.; Torquemada, *Monarquia Indiana*, xiii. 47; *Clavigero*, vol. ii. p. 94.

Ausserste des Hintertheils am Schiffe abhieb, hindurch. Von diesem Augenblicke an standen die Symplegaden fest: denn es was Bestimmung des Schicksals, dass sie gänzlich feststehen sollten, so bald ein Schiff zwischen ihnen hindurch käme." [1]

The waters of life and death are often found behind the "clashing rocks" or "opening mountain." Laistner (vol. i. pp. 263–4) speaks of the wonderful garden in which heroes seek for the water of life or apples of life:—

"Dieser Garten," he says, "ist im mythischen Jenseits gedacht, denn die Reise dahin wird wie die nach dem Glasberg geschildert; und wie in zahllosen Hortsagen die andre Welt sich nur zu Zeiten auftut und bald wieder schliesst, so dass, wer den geöffneten Berg betritt, sich sputen muss wieder herauszukommen, und ihm nicht selten noch vom sich schliessenden Stein die Ferse abgeschlagen wird, so sprudelt das Wasser des Lebens in einem Berge, der sich um Mittag erschliesst, der Zutritt zum Todeswasser ist nur um Mitternacht möglich, und es tut Eile not, den rechten Augenblick zu benützen, damit dem kühnen Eindringling nicht schliesslich die Ferse abgeklemmt werde (Wenzig, s. 148), oder man muss zwischen zwei hohen Bergen, die bald aus einander treten, bald wieder zusammenstossen oder zwischen zwei auf und zu schlagenden Türflügeln hindurch an den Quell Vordringen (Schmidt, *Griech-Märchen*, s. 233, *Nr.* 18; *Gonzenbach*, 2, 54; Hahn, I. 238; 2, 46 ff., 195, 280, 284; *kleinrussisches Märchen bei* Wollner-Leshien-Brugmann, s. 551). Einer Jungfrau, die sich hindurchwagt, wird das Kleid eingezwängt, dass sie den Zipfel mit dem Schwert abtrennen muss (Hahn, 2. 47). Nach der *Odyssee* (12. 59 ff.) müssen die Wildtauben, welche für Zeus Ambrosia holen, durch die 'Plankten' hindurchfliegen, und einzelne werden von den schnappenden Klippen erhascht (vgl. *Preller*, I. 364; *Roschers Lex.* I. 281, 40; 282. 30); dass die Stelle ein jüngeres Einschiebsel ist (Fick, *Odyssee*, s. 315) tut ihrem mythischen Gehalt nicht den mindesten Eintrag." [2]

[1] Apollodor's *Mythologische Bibliothek*, trans. by C. G. Moser, Stuttgart, 1828. Erstes Buch, Neuntes Capitel (22).

Cf. this "Bestimmung des Schicksals" with the explanation of the turning castle of the prose Perceval, ed. Ch. Potvin, 1866, vol. i. p. 197; also with the general conception of the enchantment of the revolving castle. As soon as the hero enters the enchantment ceases.

[2] The reference to Preller is, L. Preller, *Gricchische Mythologie*, 2 vols, 2nd. ed. Berlin, 1860, vol. i. p. 364, The Pleiades.

"Je nach ihrer Bedeutung für den Sommer und die Erndtezeit oder für den

W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk Tales*, Lond. 1873, pp. 231 ff., mentions the waters of life and death and the mountains which cleave together. P. 233—"There are Waters of Strength and Weakness in the Shazkas, and they are usually described as being stowed away in the cellar of some many-headed snake [the Baba-Yagá often replaces the snake]."[1] Pp. 235-6. Mountains which cleave together. He cites *Afanasief*, VI. p. 249—"The hero is sent in search of a 'healing and vivifying water' preserved between two lofty mountains which cleave closely together, except during 'two or three minutes' of each day. He follows his instructions, rides to a certain spot and there awaits the hour at which the mountains fly apart. 'Suddenly a terrible hurricane arose, a mighty thunder smote, and the two mountains were torn asunder. Prince Ivan spurred his heroic steed, flew like a dart between the mountains, dipped two flasks in the waters, and instantly turned back.' He himself escapes safe and sound, but the hind-legs of his horse are caught between the closing cliffs and smashed to pieces."[2]

Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen*, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1864, vol. i. p. 238. Der Königssohn und der Bartlose—"Darauf sagte sie (der Bienenweisel) ihm: 'wenn du mir nun noch das Wasser des Lebens bringst, so sollst du mich ganz gewiss haben.' Da verbrannte der Prinz die Rabenfeder und sofort kam der Rabe angeflogen. Als er aber hörte, was der Prinz von ihm verlangte, meinte er: 'das ist kein leichtes Stück, denn der Berg, in dem die Quelle des Lebenswassers ist, öffnet sich nur für einen Augenblick und schnappt dann wieder zu, aber ich will es versuchen.' Er liess darauf vom Prinzen eine Kürbisflasche geben und flog damit fort und nach einer kleinen Weile brachte er sie gefüllt zürück."

Vol. ii. Sonne, Mond und Morgenstern, pp. 46, 47.—A maiden

Winter und die befruchtende Zeit der Saat und der Regengüsse wurden auch von ihnen verschiedene Bilder und Sagen gedichtet. Wenn sie im Sommer zuerst wieder erscheinen und das Signal zur Erndte geben, bringen sie wie schüchterne Tauben (πέλειαι fur πλειάδες) dem Vater Zeus Ambrosia aus dem Wunderlande des Okeanos, ein Bild der *Odyssee*, 12. 62. Sie fügt hinzu dass von diesen Tauben in den Plankten immer eine verloren gehe, wofür Zeus jedesmal eine neue schaffe. . . ."

[1] Cf. the turning huts and castles in the Russian folk-tales—witch or serpent inside.

[2] Cf. the episode in *La Mule sanz Frein*, where the hero enters the revolving castle and the tail of the mule is half cut off.

is looking for her brothers, disrobes, clings to the bird, and when she has taken it prisoner, asks where her brothers are—" und er sagte, 'da steht der eine und dort der andere, und in jenem Berge, der sich jeden Mittag aufthut, ist eine Quelle, und wenn du schnell genug bist, aus dieser das Lebenswasser zu schöpfen und wieder heraus zu kommen, bevor sich der Berg schliesst, so sind alle erlöst, wenn du aber nicht zeitig genug heraus kommst und sich der Berg schliesst, bevor du wieder heraus bist, so sind wir beide verloren.' Da ging am nächsten Mittag das Mädchen mit dem Vogel auf der Hand in den Berg, und lief so schnell es konnte zur Quelle, schöpfte das Wasser und lief wieder heraus, und der Berg schloss sich so dicht hinter ihr, dass er ein Stück ihres Kleides packte. Das Mädchen . . . zog sein Schwert und schnitt dieses Stück ab, und ging dahin, wo seine Brüder standen . . . und sie riefen: 'ach wie fest haben wir geschlafen und wie leicht sind wir aufgewacht!'"

Vol. ii. *Anmerkungen*, 5, p. 195. Vom Prinzen, der dem Drakos gelobt wurde. The maiden says that she will marry the man who will bring to her the water of life—"Dieser Wasser des Lebens war nämlich in einem Berge, der sich so schnell wie der Blitz öffnete und ebenso schnell wieder schloss, und als der Jüngling dahin kam, rief er, 'Adler mit deinen Flügeln!' Da wuchsen ihm sogleich Flügel an und mit diesen schoss er, so schnell er konnte, durch den Spalt des Berges, füllte darinnen seine Kürbisflasche mit dem Wasser des Lebens und flog ebenso schnell aus dem Berge zurück, als sich dieser wieder öffnete."

Vol. ii. *Anmerkungen*, pp. 280–281. Die Strigla.—The hero comes to a hut where an old woman dwells with her very beautiful daughter. This old one was "die Schicksalsgöttin des Jünglings" and he did not know it. He tells her that he wishes the water of life for his sick mother. "Darauf zeigte ihm die Alte einen Berg und sprach: 'Siehst du jenen Berg? der öffnet sich jeden Tag um Mittagszeit und wenn du hineinkommst, so wirst du viele Quellen sehen und jede wird rufen: 'Schöpfe aus mir'! du musst aber warten, bis du eine Biene fliegen siehst, und dieser musst du nachgehen und von der Quelle Wasser schöpfen, bei welcher sie sich hinsetzt, denn wenn du aus einer anderen schöpfst, so bist du verloren. . . ."

In Variant 2 of this story, the hero goes to the Elfinnen, in

order to receive advice from them. "Da pfiffen diese, und alsbald versammelten sich alle Dohlen und die Elfinnen fragten, wer von ihnen das Wasser des Lebens holen wolle. Da erbot sich eine hinkende Krähe dazu und holte es aus dem Berg der sich öffnet und schliesst. Die Elfinnen gaben dem Prinzen die Hälfte des Wassers und behielten die andere Hälfte für sich."

A. Leskien und K. Brugman, *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen*, Strassburg, 1882, Part III. *Anmerkungen*, by W. Wollner, pp. 549 ff.; Kroatisch-Slovenisch, p. 550. The hero must get the water of life from "zwei zusammenschlagenden Felsen, die aber kein Felsen, sondern Teufel sind, und nur um Mitternacht Minuten zwei schlafen. Er holt es mit Hülfe der grossen jungen Nedelja . . . die ihm ein Ross dazu giebt und während er ausruht das Wasser mit gewöhnlichem Wasser vertauscht."

P. 551. A Variant, Slovakisch Märchen.—The mother "stellt sich krank und verlangt ein Ferkel von der Erdsau, das Wasser des Lebens und des Todes, das unter zwei Bergen ist, von denen der eine um Mittag, der andere um Mitternacht sich erhebt und gleich wieder zufällt, den Vogel Pelikan und die goldene Aepfel aus dem Drachengarten."

P. 551. Kleinrussisch.—The hero is able to get the water and other things through the aid of a maiden, "mit der er sich verbrüdert und die die Gegenstände vertauscht."

Auguste Dozon, *Contes Albanais*, Paris, 1881. La Loubie et la Belle de la Terre, pp. 92–3.—"Pour ce qui est de la seconde gageure, il brûla la plume des aigles, qui incontinent furent auprès de lui. Il leur dit: 'Je veux aller puiser de l'eau d'immortalité aux deux montagnes qui s'ouvrent et se referment, mais il convient que nous soyons là à midi, attendu qu'à ce moment seulement elles restent ouvertes pour une demi-heure. Il prend une bouteille, et on part. Au voisinage des montagnes, les aigles prirent le jeune homme sur leurs ailes, le firent passer, et sa bouteille remplie, il s'en revint chez la Belle de la terre." (See also p. 131 for mountains which open and close.)

Joseph Wenzig, *Westslavischer Märchen-Schatz*, Leipzig, 1857, s. 148. Rocks opening and shutting, behind which are the waters of life and death.

A. Schiefner, *Awarische Texte*, St. Petersburg, 1873, No. XII. Die schöne Jesensulchar, p. 96.—"Es setzte sich der Jüngling zu

Ross, schlug drauf los, jagte nach der östlichen Gegend. Nachdem er viel geritten, wenig geritten gelangte er zu den Felsen. Bald mit Krachen aneinander schlagend, bald auseinander klaffend, bald einander schlagend, bald auseinander gehend—so waren diese Felsen. Jenseits derselben stand der Apfelbaum, der mit sich selber sprach, der, wenn er sprach, sich in die Hände schlug, der, wen er sich in die Hände schlug, tanzte, zu ihm führte kein anderer Weg, als nur durch diese beiden Felsen. Sein Ross gut fassend, es zurück und vorwärts galoppiren lassened, liess der Jüngling es springen; krachend schlugen die Felsen einander, dem Pferde ward der Schweif abgeschnitten, der Jüngling aber gelangte hindurch. Er brach einen Zweig vom Baum und so wie die Felsen aneinanderschlugen und auseinanderklafften, liess er sein Pferd zurück springen uud gelangte auf diese Seite zurück."

Schiefner, *Vorwort*, p. xxv.—"Die bald an einander schlagenden, bald auseinander gehenden Felsen des awarischen M., hinter denen der wunderbare Apfelbaum sich befindet, begegnen uns auch in dem neugriechischen M. welches K. Ewlampios in seinem Buch Ὁ Ἀμάραντος, St. Petersburg, 1843, s. 76–134, mitgeteilt hat. Hier befindet sich das Unsterblichkeitswasser hinter zwei derartigen hohen Bergen.[1] Natürlich denkt man auch an die altgriechische Symplegaden."

Another instance of the rocks that came together is found in Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, Berlin, 1895. Sagen der Shushwap. "Bald kamen sie zum Hause des 'Woodchuck' (*Arctomys Monax*). Dasselbe stand gerade zwischen zwei Felsen. Wenn jemand kam, so zog das Woodchuck sich in sein Haus zurück, und wenn man ihm folgte, um es zu fangen, so schlugen die Felsen zusammen und tödteten den Ein-dringling."

With this story may be compared the "cleft in the tree" in Jeremiah Curtin's *Myths of Primitive America*, Boston, 1898. Tulchuherris, pp. 134–5:—

"In the middle of the ridge (near Sas's house) was an opening in which stood a great sugar pine, and in the pine was a cleft

[1] Schieffner's note.—"In andern neugr. M. befindet sich das Wasser des Lebens in einem Berg, der sich zu gewisser Zeit rasch öffnet und rasch wieder schliesst. S. Hahn, No. 5 Variante 37, 65. Variante 1 and 2, 69, Sakellar(i)os No. 8, etc."

large enough to let a person pass through easily. When any one was passing, and half-way through the cleft, the pine closed and crushed him. . . . Tulchuherris took his bow and quiver in one hand, stood on one foot, braced himself sidewise, made a spring, and went through in a flash."

Some examples may now be given of the "door that slams." The hero must spring in at a certain moment, just as in the case of the "revolving house" and the "clashing rocks."

Mythen und Sagen aus der steirischen Hochlande, ed. by Johann Krainz, 1880. Die drei Müller, No. 284, p. 373—"Als sie (die drei Söhne) näher kamen, trafen sie zu ihrem Erstaunen ein schön gebautes Haus das sehr hell beleuchtet war. Sie klopften an, die geschlossene Thüre offnete sich mit grossem Gekrache, und nachdem sie eingretreten waren, schloss sich die Thüre von selbst."

Boas, *Ind. Sagen*, pp. 80–81, Sagen der Çatlŏltq.—"Er (der Alte) entzündete ein grosses Feuer und, da er es für sich allein behalten wollte, baute er ein Haus mit einen Thür, die wie ein Maul auf und zuschnappte und jeden tödtete, der hereintreten wollte. . . . K·ēú landete nun und näherte sich singend und tanzend der Thür. Er sprang dabei auf die Thür zu und stellte sich, als wolle er in's Haus hineingehen. Da schnappte dieselbe zu, und wahrend sie sich wieder öffnete, sprang er in's Haus hinein."

Similar doors are told of on pages 113, 118, 186, 228 (where the door comes to so quickly that "sie die Haut an seinem Hacken traf"), p. 253—"Endlich kamen sie zu dem Hause Atlk'undā'm's. Vor demselben sass ein Adler. Das war der Wappenpfahl des Hauses. Sie baten um Einlass. Da sprach Atlk'undā'm: 'Nehmt Euch in Acht. Kommt nicht alle zugleich hinein. Jedesmal, wenn der Adler seinen Schnabel aussperrt, springe einer schnell hindurch.'"

P. 274.—"Als das Loch (in Himmel) sich zum vierten Male öffnete, flog Nemōmhā't hindurch. Sein Freund wartete aber nicht den rechten Augenblick ab, sondern folgte ihm sogleich. Das Loch schloss sich, ehe er hindurch kommen konnte, und er wurde zerquetscht."

Sicilianische Märchen, aus dem Volksmund gesammelt von Laura Gonzenbach, Leipzig, 1870, 2 vols., vol. ii. pp. 53, 54. Die Geschichte von der Fata Morgana. The horse speaks to the hero: "Dein Vater ist von vielen Weinen um dich blind geworden, und die Aerzte

haben ihm gesagt, ihm könne nichts helfen, als das Wasser der Fata Morgana. . . . Zuerst wirst du an einen grosses Thor kommen, das immer auf und zu schlägt, also dass man nicht hindurch kann. Nimm aber eine starke Eisenstange mit, und stecke sie zwischen die beiden Thorflügel, so wird ein Spalt bleiben durch den wir uns hindurch zwängen können. Dann wirst du eine riesige Scheere sehen, die immer auf und zu geht, und alles zerchneidet, was hindurch will. Nimm eine Rolle Papier mit, netze sie, und stecke sie zwischer die Scheere, so wird eine Öffnung bleiben, durch die wir hindurch können."

Grimm, *Household Tales*, 2 vols. Lond. 1884; vol. ii. pp. 50 ff. (No. 97).—Two sons of the sick king set out to find the water of life for their father. They are caught between the mountains. The youngest goes out, is courteous to the dwarf, who tells him that the water springs from a fountain in the court-yard of an enchanted castle. The prince comes to the castle, strikes on the door with his iron wand, the door springs open and he enters. He delays in the castle until a quarter to twelve. Now he springs up in a fright, runs to the spring, draws some water and hastens away. But just as he is passing through the iron door, the clock strikes twelve, and the door falls to with such violence that it carries away a piece of his heel."[1]

[1] Professor J. L. Lowes refers me to a story of a "door that slams" in Boas, *Tsimshian Texts* (Smithsonian Institution, Publications Bureau Am. Ethnology, Bulletin 27, Washington, 1902), pp. 129–130.

INDEX.

Aeneid, 49 n., 52, 67, 84, 87, 90, 105, 107–109, 135, 136, 138 n. *See also* Virgil.
Alanus de Insulis, 24, 25, 83.
Albricus Philosophus, 81–82.
Alcyone and Ceys, 7, 10, 42.
Alexander legend, 93.
Amorosa Visione, 46, 52, 60, 66, 78–79, 83, 106, 109–113, 131–132. *See also* Boccaccio.
Anti-Claudianus, 79, 83, 93, 102, 119, 136–137. *See also* Alanus de Insulis.
Apocalypse of Peter, 94.
Apuleius, 87, 132.
Architrenius, 59 n., 79, 83, 112, 116 n., 134, 137.
Arthurian legend, 149 n.
Aventure, 122.

Balade, in the *Prologue*, 36–38.
Bartholomeus Anglicus, 74 n.
Boccaccio, 18, 46, 52, 60, 66, 78–79, 83, 106–107, 109–113, 131, 137. See also *Teseide* and *Amorosa Visione*.
Boethius, 58, 67 n., 79, 96–97, 99, 101, 112, 120 n., 122–126, 139 n. See also *Consolatione Philosophiae, De*.
Brink, Ten, 13, 21 n., 23 n., 25–26, 45, 58, 73, 100, 157, 159, 163.

Capellanus, Andreas, 48 n., 130, 134, 136.
Carmina Burana, 134.
Charlemagne's *Journey to Jerusalem*, 144.
Chaucer, Dream Poems of, 41, 113.
Chaucer, Philippa, 164 n.
Chiarini, Cino, 44, 45, 70, 89 n., 103.
Clashing rocks. *See* Door that slams.
Claudianus, 48 n., 79, 116 n., 132–133.
Condé, Baudouin de, 126.
Condé, Jean de, 3, 9 n., 35, 116 n., 130–131.
Consolatione Philosophiae, De, 58–59, 67 n., 79, 96, 101, 112, 120 n., 123, 124. *See also* Boethius.
Cour de May, La, 51, 52, 135.
Court of Love, The, 1 n., 2 n., 3 n., 4 n., 5 n., 7 n., 13 n., 23 n., 24 n., 30 n., 41 n., 86, 129 n., 135.

Daedalus, House of, 138 n., 139 n.
Daedalus and Icarus story, 60–61.
Dante, 8 n., 13–14, 18, 23 n., 44–72, 90, 95–96, 103, 114–115, 138 n., 157–158, 162. See also *Divina Commedia*.
Deschamps, Eustace, 5, 29, 34, 36.
Dis d'Entendement, Li, 35, 37.
Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse, 7, 8 n., 10.
Dit du Vergier, 4, 30, 110, 130.
Divina Commedia, 13, 14, 23 n., 44–72, 77–79, 95–96, 103, 157–158, 162. *See also* Dante, Door that slams, *and* Clashing rocks, 173–181.
"Door that slams" and "clashing rocks," 173–181.
Dream-motive, 46.
Dreams embedded in literary works, 1 n., 54.
Duchesse, The, 6–11, 42, 80.

England and Ireland in the 14th century, 152–153.
Enok and Elye, 54–55.
Etana story, 56, 92–93.

Fablel dou Dieu d'Amours, Li, 1–2, 64.
Fame in the abstract, 15–17, 123, 124–126, 171–172.

Fled Bricrend, 142–145.
Florance et Blancheflor. 129, 143 n.
Fortune, goddess of, 16–17, 112, 120–128.
—— House of, 117–128.
—— in the abstract, 124.
French, J. C., 26, 35–36.
Froissart, 4, 28, 30–40, 46, 51–52, 57, 64, 79, 96, 135.

Ganymede story, 54–55, 87–90, 92 n.
Garrett, A. C., 14, 66–67, 90–91, 115, 160–161, 162, 164.
Glass mountain, 90–91, 115.
Guileville, Guillaume de, 69, 148 n.

Holkot, Robert, 74–76.
Hous of Fame, 11–20, 42, 44, 72; autobiographical significance, 47–50, 156–172; date, 11 n., 162–163; dating of the poem, 51; the desert, 52–54; discussion of dreams, 18, 73–77; discussion of sound, 19, 95–100; the eagle, 19, 49–50, 56–60, 86–95, 115, 154–155, 167, 169–170; the guide, 49–50, 57–58, 88–94; helpful animal, 86, 94–95; messenger, 86–87; goddess of Fame, 14, 16, 17, 19–20, 66–69, 105–114, 116–138; groups of people, 62–63; the House of Fame, 15, 20, 50, 122 n., 151, 170–171; the House of Rumour (or Tydings), 20, 50, 66, 122, 138–155, 171–172; inscription on the wall of the temple of Venus, 51–52; invocations, 18, 24, 51, 77–79; journey through the air (*see also* eagle), 100–103, 170; meaning, 156–172; natural history discussion, 61; painting on the walls of the temple of Venus, 82–86; pillars, 63–68; relation to the *Aeneid*, *see* Virgil and *Aeneid*; relation to the *Amorosa Visione*, *see* Boccaccio and *Amorosa Visione*; relation to Dante, see *Divina Commedia*, and Dante; relation to Ovid, *see* Ovid; rock of ice, 61, 114–128; temple of Venus, 18–19, 48, 51–52, 80–86, 160, 169.
Ireland and England in the 14th century, 152–153.
Irish Wattle Houses, 140–142, 151, 155.

Joli Buisson de Jonece, Le, 4, 51, 96.

Knight's Tale, 81.
Koeppel, E., 52, 66, 67 n., 96, 110–111.

Lavina, 52.
Lay Amoureux, 5, 29, 39.
Lay de Franchise, 27–29, 34, 39.
Liber Sapientiae, *see* Holkot, Robert.
Lounsbury, 14 n., 25 n., 44, 81–82, 89, 162 n.
Love, god of, 129–131; goddess of, 16–17, 128–131; house of, 132–135; worship of, 128–135, 169.
Love-visions, Old French, 1–6, 8 n., 9 n., 42–43, 80–81, 94
Lowes, J. L., 11 n., 26, 28–31, 34–39, 162–163.

Machault, Guillaume de, 4, 7, 30, 46, 110, 123 n., 130.
Macrobius, 73–76, 97–98, 102 n.
Martianus Capella, 98 n., 101–102, 138 n.
Messe des Oisiaux, La, 3, 24, 130–131.
Metamorphoses, 7, 55, 60–61, 87, 89–90, 105–108, 136, 138. *See also* Ovid.
Mireoirs as Dames, Li, 83, 110, 126 n.
Mule sanz Frain, La, 144 n., 148–149, 155, 176 n.

Ovid, 7, 10, 16, 55, 60–61, 87, 89–90, 105–108, 136, 155.

Panthère d'Amours, La, 3, 49, 51, 62, 73, 83, 118, 126, 131.
Paradys d'Amours, 4, 27–28, 30–40, 57.
Parlement of Foules, 20–25, 42.
Petrarch, 106–107, 109 n.
De Planctu Naturae, 24–25.
Polycraticus, 74.
Polychronicon, 116 n., 139 n., 142.
Prison Amoureuse, La, 53 n.
Prologue to the Legend, 25–41, 43.

Rambeau, A., 14, 46–70, 77–78, 90, 95, 114–115, 157–158, 163.
Renown, goddess of, *see* goddess of Fame.
Revolving houses, 139, 140 n., 144–155, 175 n., 176; connected with "door that slams" and "clashing rocks," 173–181.
Roman de la Rose, 2, 29, 41 n., 52, 67, 73, 75–76, 96, 119, 121, 127–8.
Rumour, goddess of, *see* goddess of Fame.

Sandras, E. G., 21 n., 44, 156–157.
Seint Graal, 149, 150.
Skeat, W. W., 7 n., 13 n., 24, 55, 73, 96–97, 114, 138 n.
Somnium Scipionis, 22–23, 25, 42, 46, 57–58, 93–94, 100–101.
Speculum Naturale, *see* Vincent of Beauvais.
Symplegades, 174–175.

Temple d'Onnour, 64, 83.
Temples of glass, 86.
Teseide, La, 22, 25, 42, 78–79, 83, 101 n., 119 n., 134–135, 137.
Tidings, house of, *see* House of Rumour.
Tresor Amoureux, 33–34, 77, 79, 131, 137.
Twigs, houses of, 140–143, 150–151, 154–155.

Venus, la Deesse d'Amor, De, 86, 129.
Vincent of Beauvais, 74 n., 97–99.
Virgil, 16, 19, 44, 52, 77 n., 87, 90, 105, 107–109.
Vision of Alberic, 94, 115, 148; Drihthelm, 94; Furseus, 84; Mac Conglinne, 142; Monk of Eynsham, 94, 115; Poor Woman, 116 n.; St. Paul, 68; Thespesius, 94; Thurcill, 68, 94; Tundale, 115–116; Wellin, 94.

Warton, Thomas, 82–84.
Watriquet de Couvin, 83 n., 110, 126 n., 131.
Welsh things, Chaucer's interest in, 153.
Willert, H., 158–159.